

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

GWEDIR FAMILY,

BY

SIR JOHN WYNNE,

The first BARONET of that Name, who
was born in 1553.

*With an Introduction, and Notes, by
The Hon^{ble} Daines Barrington*



L O N D O N,
by Bowyer & Nichols
Printed for B. WHITE, at Horace's head,
Fleet-street. MDCCLXX.

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INTRODUCTION.

IT may not be improper to give the reader some account of what he is, or is not, to expect from the present publication, as well as to throw together what few particulars can be now collected with regard to its author.

The MS. hath, for above a century, been so prized in North Wales, that many in those parts have thought it
a worth

worth while to make fair and complete transcripts of it.

One of these Carte had consulted, and he refers to it as his authority for the Welsh Bards having been massacred by Edward the First ^a.

This circumstance alone may stamp a most intrinsic value on the MS, as it hath given rise to an ode which will be admired by our latest posterity.

The whole passage relative to this tradition is also cited by the Rev. Mr. Evans, in his Specimens of Welsh Poetry; and it appears that he had made the

^a See Carte, vol. ii. p. 196. where it is entitled, *Sir John Wynne's History of the Gwedir family.*

extract from a copy in the collection of Sir Roger Mostyn, Bart.

It is believed likewise that there is another transcript ^a in the possession of Mr. Panton, of Plasgwyn in Anglesey, who, together with Mr. Holland of Conway, and the Rev. Mr. Jones (Vicar of Lanrwst), have been so obliging as to communicate many particulars with regard to the Gwedir family.

The author was indeed a general collector of what related not only to his own ancestors, but the antiquities of the Principality ^b, as Rowland cites an Extent or Survey of North Wales, illustrated by learned notes of Sir John Wynne.

^a The present publication is also from a copy that belonged to Captain Joseph Williams of Glanravan, which he kindly communicated.

^b See Mon. Antiq. p. 123.

There was some difficulty in settling the time of the author's birth and death, till Mr. Grainger's Biographical Dictionary was consulted, who gives the following inscription under a copy made by Vertue, from an engraving of the author by Vaughan.

“ Johannes Wynn de Gwedir in Com.
“ Carnarvon Eques & Baronettus^c; obiit
“ 1^{mo} die Martii 1626, æt. 73.”

The accuracy of these dates seemed at first to be very suspicious, as there is an account of a voyage to Spain by Sir *Richard Wynne of Gwedir, Baronet*, in

^c He was created Baronet in 1611. (See Gwillim's Heraldry, 6th ed.) His arms being three eagles displayed in *fess*, or, as being a descendant from Owen Gwynedd.

1623,

1623, which is prefixed to that volume of Hearne's Tracts that begins with the Life of Richard the Second.

Application was however made to Mr. West, for leave to examine the original print, in his very valuable and curious collection.

Mr. Grainger's dates are thereby most exactly confirmed, and it may not be improper here to add the inscription under the engraving :

“ Vera effigies Domini Clarissimi Jo-
“ hannis Wynn de Gwedir in Com. Car-
“ narvon, Equitis & Baronetti.

“ Obiit primo die Martii 1626, ætat.
“ 73.

“Honoris ipsius causâ Rob. Vaughan
“sculpsit, proliquo D. D.”

It is impossible that the engraver could be inaccurate in the dates of Sir John Wynne's birth and death, when the print is dedicated to his family.

The title therefore given by Hearne to a voyage of *Sir Richard Wynne of Gwedir Baronet* in 1623, when he only became so in 1627, must have arisen from his being a Baronet when he, perhaps, made a more fair and complete copy of his Itinerary.

If this could want any confirmation, it may receive it from two commissions in Rymer^d; in the first of which, dated in

^d See Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. viii. part ii. p. 145 and 233. Hague Ed.

1626, mention is made of Sir *John Wynne*, Baronet ; and in the second, dated in 1627, of Sir *Richard Wynne*, Baronet.

Though Mr. Grainger is therefore thus irrefragably accurate, with regard to the birth and death of the first Baronet, yet, from a simularity of names, he hath made a mistake in ascribing the republication of *Dr. Powell's History of Wales from Cadwalader to Llewelyn*, by *W. Wynne*, A. M. to this Baronet.

The author, who was born in 1553, seems to have lived chiefly in retirement, during which period no very interesting particulars can be expected.

The building a new house is an event of some consequence in such a life ; he

began *Upper Gwedir* * in 1604, as appears by an inscription over the entrance.

* The house called *Lower Gwedir* he mentions in this MS. to have been built by his great grandfather. As for *Upper Gwedir*, it was covered almost with inscriptions in different languages; scarcely any of which remain, as the wainscot hath been lately used in repairing farm houses on other parts of the estate.

A Welsh inscription, which is still legible, over the entrance, is here subjoined.

Beyn Gwedir gwelir goleu adeilad uwch dolydd
a chaurau,
Bryn gwuch adail yn ail ne ;
Bron wen stenllys brenhinlle.

Hugh bach ap Howel ap Shenkin a ganodd
yr Englyn, uchod ddeng-mlynedd cyn amcanu,
gwneuthur yr adeilad hon.

“ A conspicuous edifice on Gwydir hill, towering
“ over the adjacent land, a well-chosen situation,
“ a second paradise, a fair bank, a palace of
“ royalty.

It

It was considered as one of the best houses in the principality, because there is a tradition that it was calculated to receive any of the Royal Family, who might have occasion to go to Ireland.

As in the year 1604 none of the Blood Royal could probably think of such a journey, it may rather be supposed that it was destined for the reception of the

“ This *Englyn* was written by little Hugh Shenkin, *ten years before the building was designed* *.”

The reverend Mr. Jones, vicar of Llanrwst, was so obliging as to copy the above inscription, and to accompany it with the translation here given.

He also observes, that this Welsh composition is a sort of gingle, for which he knows no English name, or any similar metre.

* It should seem from this, that little Hugh Shenkin was a prophet, as well as poet.

Lords

Lords Deputies of Ireland, as it is little out of the road to Holyhead.

Be this as it may, the chief reason for any mention being made of this house, arises from a possibility of its having been designed by Inigo Jones, in his first manner, before he had been in Italy, as the style of it is rather singular.

The name of Jones sufficiently proves him to have been of Welsh extraction; to which it may be added, that his cast of features, as represented in Hollar's engraving of his portrait, seem to shew that he must have been an inhabitant of the Principality.

All traditions have generally some foundation, and it is universally believed

lieved in the neighbourhood of Llan-rwst, that Jones was born either at that town or Dolwythelan, which is equally situated near considerable estates of the Gwedir family.

The tradition is also so circumstantial, as to suppose that he was christened by the name of *Ynir*, which, after his travels into Italy, he exchanged for *Inigo* as founding better.

It is part likewise of the same tradition, that he was patronised by the Wynnes of Gwedir, and that he built *Plastêg*, belonging to the Trevor family, on the road from Wrexham to Mold^f.

^f There is an engraving of the front of this house on the side of a large map of Denbighshire and Flintshire, which was published about forty or fifty years.

As every particular which relates to this great architect is interesting, it may not be improper also to observe, that Jones, who went a second time to Italy in 1612, might very possibly have travelled under the protection of the author's eldest son, John, who died at Lucca in that year. As for his being patronised by the Earl of Pembroke at this time, it seems to be very justly doubted by Mr. Walpole §.

It is not improbable also that Jones might have obtained the considerable station he afterwards rose to, from the patronage of this family, which considered him as a presuming genius, that did particular honour to Gwedir, and its neighbourhood.

§ Anecdotes of Painting in England (Article JONES); where notice is likewise taken, that this great architect was possibly protected by the Earl of Arundel.

Sir Richard Wynne, who became the eldest son upon the death of his brother John, was one of the Grooms of the bedchamber to Charles the First when Prince of Wales, and became afterwards Treasurer to Queen Henrietta.

In 1633 Sir Richard built the chapel at Llanrwst, which is supposed by tradition to have been planned by Jones, and in 1636 the bridge over the Conway at the end of the town.

This bridge is also considered as a work of Jones's, and is so elegant a structure, that it sufficiently speaks itself to be the work of a masterly architect.

The arms of the Gwedir family being fixed on one side of it, shew that the
under-

undertaking was at the expence of Sir Richard Wynne, who had a right to employ his own architect in, (what must have been so agreeable to him) the ornamenting the place of his nativity.

It must be admitted, that this tradition, so generally believed in the neighbourhood of Llanrwst, contradicts the common account of Jones's birth, which is commonly fixed by the later biographers to have been in London.

Considerable pains have been taken to trace this account to its original source, as Webb, who married a relation of Jones's, is entirely silent on this head.

Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, which is the great repository of particulars of this kind, appears to be the first authority for Jones's being a Londoner.

It

It is necessary, however, to state what he hath advanced in his own words, from the second edition in 1721, as there are not the least traces of it in that of 1692.

Even in the last edition there is no particular article of *Inigo Jones*; but the following words are inserted in the life of Dr. Walter Charleton, who had the controversy with Webb relative to Jones's Stonehenge :

“ Before I go any further it must be
“ known that *one* Inigo Jones, a *Lon-*
“ *doner by birth,*” &c.

Jones died in 1652, much advanced in years ; and Harrington, in the preface prefixed to the second edition of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, (which alone
contains

contains any particulars relative to Jones), says, that the additions were made within five years of Wood's death.

What credit therefore can be given to a multifarious collector of anecdotes, who only mentions the name of Jones, in the loose manner above stated, with regard to the place of his birth, which happened above 100 years before ?

In the common lives of Jones it is supposed, that the name of *Inigo*, which is certainly a very uncommon one for an Englishman, was given to this architect from a possibility of some Spanish merchant having been his godfather.

No one however cites the least authority for this very far-fetched conjecture ; on the contrary, it is at once accounted for by the Llanrwst tradition, that his
original

original name was *Ynir*, which he changed to *Ignatius* or *Inigo*, after having been in Italy.

It hath already been observed, that Webb, who seems to be the only person who had an opportunity of being properly informed with regard to his birth and origin, is totally silent on both heads.

Jones therefore, when elevated to the rank of Surveyor General, was probably mysterious in relation to all such circumstances; and that he had much vanity and pride, may be fairly inferred from an epigram of Ben Johnson's, in which he styles him *Inigo Marquis would-be*ⁱ.

ⁱ See the last edition of Johnson's works.

8/ If it be said that ~~John~~son was his enemy, this may account for his representing Jones as vainer than he really was ; but there is generally some foundation even in the charge of a satyrist.

But, to leave this conjecture about the place of Jones's nativity to the circumstances above relied upon, it cannot be doubted but that this great architect was at least much patronised by the author of these family memoirs, as well as by his sons.

In 1610 Sir John Wynne erected at Llanrwst some almshouses (to which he gave the name of Jesus Hospital) for the reception of twelve poor men, and drew up regulations for the management of his benefaction. He also endowed this charity
very

very liberally with the rectorial tithes of Egglwys fach, which are now valued at 200 li. per annum.

In 1626, at the age of seventy-three, he died much lamented both by his family and neighbourhood, which may be inferred from the engraving by Vaughan already mentioned, as in those times few had such respect shewn to their memories, who were not very singularly esteemed.

How many of his children were living at his death cannot now be accurately known ; he had, however, by Sidney, daughter of Sir William Gerrard, chancellor of Ireland, eleven sons and two daughters ^k.

^k This appears by the inscription over the author's tomb at Llanrwst.

Having stated the few circumstances which could be collected with regard to the author, it may not be improper to mention, that no liberties have been taken in improving his orthography or style, except now and then by breaking a very long and complicated period into two, so as to make it more perspicuous and intelligible.

It is not pretended that the present publication is entitled to any merit of this sort, as it appears to have been compiled merely for the author's information, and that of his descendants.

His intention in these memoirs of his family was to deduce his pedigree from Owen Gwynedd, Prince of N. Wales in 1438.

So

So long therefore as his ancestors continued to be the *reguli* of that country, it may be considered as a history, or rather brief chronicle of the Principality.

Imperfect however as it is, yet it may be entitled to some degree of value, in the light of a supplement to Dr. Powell's *Chronicle of Wales*.

It appears by this MS. that the author was furnished with some materials, which neither Powell, nor Wynne, the only other historian of Wales, had ever seen.

In different parts of these memoirs he cites as his authorities, The copy of a Fragment of a Welsh Chronicle, in the possession of his cousin Sir Thomas Williams of Trefriw; Welsh Pedigrees; The

records kept in Carnarvon Castle; Records copied for him at the Tower, by J. Broughton, Esq; then Justice of N. Wales; as also the tradition of the country.

What seems to be most interesting in the work, are some anecdotes and circumstances which relate to the more immediate ancestors of the author, as they are strongly characteristick of the manners and way of living in the Principality, during that period.

As the places mentioned are often nothing more than farms, and in a part of Wales not much known probably to English Readers, it hath been thought proper to subjoin in a note some account of their situations.

If this had been done, however, in every instance, it would have greatly increased the size of the pamphlet ; it therefore may not be improper to premise, that the scene chiefly lies in Evioneth, Dolwythelan, and Gwedir, all three of which are in Carnarvonshire.

Written

~~E R R A T U M.~~

~~P. 67. note [a] for γ W/g read A W/g .~~



Written by Sir JOHN WYNNE of
Gwyder, Knight and Baronet,
Ut creditur & patet.

GRUFFITH ap Conan, Prince
of Wales, had by his wife Any-
hared, the daughter of Owen ap Edwyn,
Lord of Englefield, Owen Gwynedd,
Cadwalader and Cadwallon, who was
slaine before his father's death: he
reigned over Wales fifty years. His
troublesome life and famouse actes are
compiled by a most auncient frier or
monke of Wales: this was found by
the posterity of the said Gruffith ap Co-

B

nari

nan in the house of Gwedir ^a in North Wales, and at the request of Morice Wynne Esq; (who had the same written in a most ancient booke and was lineally descended from him) was translated into Latine by Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor.

Owen Gwynedd was Prince after his father.

He married to his first wife Gwladys, daughter to Lowarce ap Trahayarn, Lord of Divet, by whom he had only Yerwerth ^b Drwndwn or Edward *with the*

^a There are two houses so called at present very near each other, the one Lower *Gwedir* and the other *Upper*; they are both in Carnarvonshire, on the western side of the Conway opposite to the town of Lanrwst. One of these houses is so ancient as to be mentioned in Saxton's map of Carnarvonshire, which was engraved in 1578. Gwedir is said to signify glass, and this was probably the first house in those parts which had glazed windows.

^b This account differs very materially from that given by Dr. Powel in his *History of Cambria*,
broken

broken nose, and by his second wife called Christian, daughter of Gronow ap Owen ap Ediwyn Lord of Englefield, being his cofen, he had David who after him was Prince ; he had also Rodri Lord of Anglesey, and Cadwallon who was Abbot of Bardsey, and Angharat wife of Griffith Marlor. He had besides these by diverse women Conan, Llewelin, Meredith, Edwal, Fun, Howel, Cadelh, Mador, Eneon, Cynwric, Philip, and Riryd Lord of Clochran in Ireland (v. Powel's cron.) This Prince Owen with his brother Cadwalader (as the Welsh Cronicle maketh mention) in his father's time made many

p. 226. It should seem however that the author made use of some materials in compiling his short chronicle of the Princes of Wales, which Dr. Powel had no opportunity of consulting ; and he hath already mentioned a life of Griffith ap Conan written by a most *ancient Friar or Monk of Wales*.

Dr. Powel's History was published in 1584, and as the author refers to it in this page, it proves that this part of the MS. was written after that year.

victorious voyages into South Wales against the Normans that incroached mightilie on that country, and in a pitched field flew 3000 men, and put the rest to flight. Being prince after his father's death, he overthrew the Earle of Chester and a number of March Lords, and (as Giraldus Cambrensis hath it in his History, intituled *Itinerarium Cambriæ*) repulsed K. Henry II. who made three voyages royall against Wales with all the Power of England, Normandy, and Aquitaine, together with the succours of Flanders and Britayne. In one of the voyages at Countshill wood the whole army of the King was put to flight, as the French Chronicle ^b sayth, the King's person en-

^b As there are several French Chronicles which occasionally treat of what happened in England, it is difficult to ascertain what History the author alludes to. He also does not explain in any instance what Welsh Chronicle he so often refers to; whether that of Caradoc of Lancarvon, that before mentioned to have been written by a Friar of Conway, or perhaps some other compilation of the
dangered,

dangered, and the great standard of England overthrowne and forsaken, which was the cause that Robert Mountfort, a noble baron, impeached Henry of Essex the standard bearer, (who held that office by inheritance), for beginning the flight, of treason, which being tried by combate, the standard-bearer was overthrowne, his office, lands, and goods confiscate, and himsele shaven a monke in the Abbey of Reading. After that this Prince had raigned most victoriously thirty-two years, he died. It is written of him, that he was soe fortunate, as that he never attempted that enterprize which he atchieved not.

Cadwalader, brother to prince Owen ^c, was married to Alice, daughter to Ri-

fame sort. The author also cites the copy of a Welsh chronicle in the possession of his relation Sir Thomas Williams of Trefriw. See p. 13 & 15.

^c Cadwalader *frater Owini magni salutem in Domino*; Notum sit universitati vestræ quod ego Cad-

chard earl of Clare, and was lord of Credigiawn or Cardiganshire.

Though this record is attested by Cadwalader king of Wales because he had kingly authority in this countrey, yet he was no more than a subject to his brother, by whom he was banished, and lost his lands, till by composition the same were restored. The Welsh Chronicle calleth him Prince of Wales: he dwelled most at the castle of Aberystwythe. He was murdered by the English souldiers which

walader pro salute animæ meæ & omnium antecessorum & heredum meorum dedi & concessi Deo & Eccl'ie S. Joannis Evan' de Hageman & Canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus in puram & p'petuam Eleemosynam Eccl'iam de Nevin. T. Alic' de Clara uxore mea, Ranulpho comite Cestriæ, &c. Precipio quod Abbas Salop & Conventus habeant totam tenuram suam inter Ryblam & Merfam ^a T. R. comite de Clara & Cadwaladro ap Gr. ap Cynan rege Walliarum, & Roberto Basset & Gaufrid apud Cestriam.

^a Two rivers in Lancashire.

the King sent to conduct him to his countrey.

After the death of Owen, Yerwerth (or Edward), his sonne, being thought unfitt to governe by reason of the deformity of his face, David his brother became Prince in his father's roome.

I find that Yerwerth Drwndwn, or Edward *with the broken nose*, being put from the government of the principality, had assigned him for his part of his father's inheritance, the hundreds of Nanconwy and Ardydwy. He dwelled at the castle of Dolwyddelan^d, where it is thought credible his son Llewelyn the Great, or prince Llewelyn was borne, whose mother was Maryed the daughter of Madog ap Meredydd prince of Powys.

^d This castle is situated in the S. eastern parts of Carnarvonshire, and in perhaps the least frequented part of the mountains. The remains at present are very insignificant.

Conan ap Owen Gwynedd his son had for his part the countey of Merioneth^e.

David married Emma sister to King Henry the II. and had by her a sonne called Owen ; upon confidence of that match he banished his base bretheren, and imprisoned his brother Roderic, because he desired his portion of inheritance. But Rodericke breaking his brother's prison, entered the isle of Anglsey, and was received of the people as sovraigne lord thereof, and within a while recovered all that parte of Wales which lyeth above the river of Conway. At such time as Giraldus Cambrensis in the company of Baldwyn Archbishop of Canterbury travailed through Wales, preaching the crosse against the infidells, David had noe other part of the principality of Wales save Ruddlan castle and the ter

^e It is therefore always stiled by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Terra filiorum Conani*.

ritorie adjacent, which he held with a garrison of English, where the Archbishop lodged one night to visit the King's sister, as the same Giraldus doth testifie in his booke intituled, *His Journey through Wales*.

Giraldus maketh mention, that Roderic was Prince at such time as the Archbishop preached the Crosse in Anglesey, and that he had in his court Llewelyn the son of Yerwerth, or Edward, his nephew, who, though he was overborne by his uncle David (that married the K. of England's sister, and had by her issue male), as alsoe by his uncle Roderic, (who, to strengthen himselfe with the power of South Wales, had married his own cosen, daughter of the Lord Rys ap Gruffith ap Rys ap Tewdwr mawr, and by her had issue Gruffith and Thomas), yet God soe advanced the right of the young prince Llewelyn, that in time he put down both his uncles
from

from the princely scepter and their posterity, yet it may be imagined, (considering what places they held in their country, and what friends they had abroad), not without an honourable composition and provision for themselves and their posterities first had.

It appeareth by the records in K. John's time remayning in the Tower, that the King gave to Owen the son of David, being his cosen german, and to Gruffith the sonne of Rodri three cantreds, viz. Rhos, Rheviniog, and Dufryn Clwydd, excepting the castle of Gannocke ^f and the territorie of Creiddyn, wherein the said castle did stand, and alsoe gave them three other cantreds if they could winne them: the record followeth in hec verba ^g.

^f The castle of *Gannocke* is supposed to have been situated below Conway, where the river empties itself into the sea.

^g J O' Dei gra' &c. Sciatis Nos concessisse & hac charta n'ra confirmasse Audoeno filio Davidis &
By

By this record, (as also by the Welsh historie, which mentioneth that David

Gruff' filio Roderici tria cantreda; sc. Rhos, salvo Nobis castro de Gannocke cum Creythyn ubi castrum illud sedet, Rhevenioc & Duffryn Clwyd cum p'tinentiis suis integre tenenda ipsis Audoen & Gruffino & heredibus suis de Nobis & heredibus n'ris, faciendo inde Nobis & heredibus n'ris servicia subscripta; s. singulis annis XII dextrarios de pretio: s. de unoquoq; cantred IIII dextrarios; & preterea de illis tribus cantredis unam *natam*^b canum p' annum, & decem lepores & omnes accipitres & falcones gentiles & spervarios dict' trium Cantredorum, reddendo inde Nobis & heredibus n'ris singulis annis apud Salop ad Festum S. Petri ad vincula. P'terea ipsi ambo ibunt in servitium n'rum cu' gentibus de dict' cantredis & alias remanebunt si volumus. P'dicti vero Audoenus & Gruffinus obsides Nobis dabunt de fidei servitio suo. S. Audoenus filius David dabit filiu' suu' de uxore sua desponsat' &c. *Et si p'posse illorum Et p' licentiam n'ram possint conquirere* Arown Ariclawit & Lewin, idon' servic' Nobis facient de illis tribus p'dict' cantredis. Hiis T. Dom', Winton Ep'o, W. Comite Sarum fratre nostro, G. filio Petri Com'

^b This is the word used in the MS.; it should however, probably, be *meutam canum*, from the French word *meute*.

ap Owen often assayed by the power of the King of England to recover the principality against Prince Llewelyn his nephew) it may appeare that the cosens, Owen the sonne of David, and Gruffith the son of Rodri, joyned with the K. of England against their prince Llewelyn; but all in vaine, for Giraldus maketh mention, they got noe other portion but what they had by composition. In what place it was in Wales the sons of Rodri had possessions graunted them, or whether it was in diverse places (as is most likely it should be, to weaken men of their alliance, friends, and authority among the commons), it doth not appeare by certayne record.

Whether David ap Owen had any more children by the king's sister but

Warren, S. Com' Winton, W'm Com' Ferrar, Wil-
li'mo Briover, Petro fil' Herberti, Tho' de Ardiner,
Ph'o de Arch Justic' Cestr'. Dat' apud Suwerit'
xxxii Octob' anno regni n'ris xiiii^o.

Owen,

Owen, and whether any, or who be descended, either by male or female, of them, I cannot yet find any certainty thereof. In a fragment of a Welsh cronicle, copied by Sir Thomas Williams, I find, that in the end Llewelin killed his uncle David and all his posterity, at Conway. Soe that I think there is none descended from the said David and the Lady Emma his wife either, male or female.

The posterity of Rodri had large possessions in Denbigh land, called Rhos Ravoniawg, neare and about Denbigh castle, in the chiefeſt and beſt part of the ſame, as hereafter in this hiſtory ſhall appeare (whereby it may ſeeme K. John's graunt of that countrey was not wholly fruſtrate unto them, or perhaps they had that land given them by the laſt prince Llewelyn) and alſo were lords of diſverſe lordſhipps in the county of Carnarvon,

narvon, especialie in the hundred of Evioneth. The Evioneth men have it among them by tradition, that Llewelyn the Great gave the lands in Evioneth unto the posterity of Rodri. I find in a fragment of a Welsh cronicle, copied by my kinsman Sir Thomas Williams, that Rodri had another son called Einion (as is afore specified) by the daughter of the Lord Rys, Prince of South Wales, beside Gruffith before mentioned and Thomas.

Rodri his second wife was daughter to Gothic, King of Man. In anno Dom. 1243 Rodri ap Owen, by the help of Gothic K. of Man, invaded Anglsey, but within one yeare was thence repulsed by the sonns of Conan ap Owen Gwynedd, who held the isle to themselves. Quere, who are descended of this Conan? There is in the towneshipp of Pennant Evioneth a *gwely* called

called *gwely wyrion Cyna* & held very freely; many suppose that part of this Conan's inheritance was there. I remember the words of Giraldus Cambrensis, that sayeth, I will advisedly omit the cruell and unnaturall warrs that were for ambition of government betwene Prince Owen's children and offspring in the time of the said Giraldus. Rodri lyeth buried in the Colledge of Kerkyby^h. This I had out of the Welsh cronicle, copied by Sir Thomas Will' of Trefriwⁱ.

Thomas ap Rodri married Marged, the daughter of Einion ap Sifyllt, and had

^s This may be rendered, The Tenement of the Nephews of Conan. — *Gwely* is literally a bed, — metaphorically any place of rest, hence house, habitation, manor, estate, or tenement.

^h Kerkyby is at present called Holyhead in Anglesey.

ⁱ Trefriw is a village in Carnarvonshire, situated on the southern side of the Conway, about two miles below Gwedir. It signifies the town on the bank or declivity.

by

by her Cariadog ap Tho', who married Eva the daughter of Gwyn ap Gruff', Lord of Kegidfa, and had by her Einion ap Cariadog, Lord of Penythen (where his manor is called to this day, Llys ^k Einion ap Cariadog), Bala devlyn, Penyberth, and of many places more, as may be imagined by his greatness in his time. He had also Gruff' ap Cariadog Lord of Friwlwyd ^l (where the ruins of his manor house do alsoe appeare), Ystrad, Eskibion, and of other great possessions in Rhos and Ravoniawg. He had likewise Syna married to Gruff' ap Llewelyn, by whom the said Gruff' begat Llewelyn ap Gruffith last Prince of Wales of the Brittish race, who was slayne at Buelt. Llewelyn ap Jerwerth ap Owen

^k *Llys* signifies a palace, or great mansion house.

^l Friwlwyd is a township situated in the parish of Lanarmon and hundred of Evioneth in Carnarvonshire: a small river runs through it bearing that name. Ystrad and Eskibion must probably adjoin to this township.

Gwynedd haveing by the helpe of his
 Cofens Conan ap Owen Gwinedd's
 sonnes, deprived his uncles, began to
 raigne anno 1194, who atchieved foe ma-
 ny noble enterprifes that he obtained
 the name of Llewelyn the Great among
 all posteritie and writers. His workes
 and worthy deeds being remembred by
 foe many writers, do make me the
 lesse to dwell upon the reherfall of them,
 seeing my purpose is no more than cur-
 foriwise to touch the raigne of the prin-
 ces, to the end to make the history ¹ I
 write more easie to be understood. Only I
 have thought good to insert here a cop-
 pie of one of King Henry the Third's
 letters ^m unto the said Prince Lywelyn,
 which is extant in the records of the
 treasurie at Westminster (because it is

¹ The author by this means the history of his
 own family.

^m HENRICUS Rex Angliæ &c. Leolino
 Principi Aberfr' D'no de Snowdon, Salutem & fe-
 totum. Cum propter innundationes aquarum &
 viarum discrimina nuncii n'ri ad vos accedere non

C

extant

extant in noe cronicle that I have seen)
and was thence brought to light by Ri-
chard Broughton Esq; Justice of North-

possint, p' curforem quendam literas p'sentes duxi-
mus destinendas, p' quas majestati vestræ significa-
mus q'd Nos p' Nobis & n'ris vobiscum & cum
o'ibus vestrīs pacem tenuimus & tenebimus in fu-
turu', & hoc dedimus ballivis n'ris & imprisiis * in
mandatis, ut pacem cum suis Comarthionibus fir-
miter teneant & observent. Quare vestram rogamus
ferenitatem quod ballivis in Marchia comoran-
tib' detis si placet in mandatis q'd cum n'ris pacem
teneant inviolatam: bene placitum vestrum si placet
nobis significetis. Valeat ex'lentia vestra.

This letter is printed as copied by Sir John
Wynne. It should not be concealed however that
upon examining the records in Rymer for the year
1233 and 17th of Henry the Third, it turns out to
be a letter from Lewelin to Henry the Third, and
not from that King to Lewelin. See Rymer,
vol. i. par. i. p. 114. Hague Ed.

This letter, is preceded by one from Henry the
Third to Lewelin in the following words:

“Rex Lewelino Principi de Aberfrau &c. Do-
mino de Snawdun. Salutem.

Noveritis quod die lunæ proximo post instans
Festum Nativitatis beatæ Mariæ mittemus confi-

* This word signifies one who undertakes another's business,
from *entreprendre*, an old French term used for *entreprendre*

Wales, the chiefe antiquary of England ; a man to whom his countrey is much beholden, preferring nothing more than the honour thereof, which he most carefully raketh out of the ashes of oblivion, in searhing, quoting, and copping, to his

lium nostrum usque Colewent, in occursum consilii vestri ibidem. Et ideo vos rogamus quod detis consilio vestro plenam potestatem ad exponendam consilio nostro plene voluntatem vestram, quia nos dabimus consilio nostro ex parte nostra plenam potestatem ad exponendam consilio vestro voluntatem nostram ad firmiter pacem faciendam inter nos & vos ; ita quod nullus scrupulus sit inter vos & nos.

Et volumus quod id providebitur inter nos & vos, quod nullo modo vos, vel David filius vester aliquo tempore a *servitio nostro* recedatis.

Teste R. apud Hayam 11 diem Septembr'."

Rymer, *ibid.*

The author seems to have ascribed the first letter to Henry the Third, on account of the expressions *Majestas vestra* — *rogamus serenitatem* — *valeat excellentia vestra*, which he chose should be applied to Lewelin. Whereas it appears by the letter from this King to Lewelin that he considered him as his vassal, *Quod nullo modo vos vel David filius vester aliquo tempore a nostro servitio recedatis.*

great chardge, all the ancient records he can come by.

Anno Domini 1253 one Gruffith ap Conan ap Owen Gwynedd was buried in a monkes cowle in the Abbey of Conway, as fayeth the Welch cronicle. Anno 1201 ^k Prince Llewelyn banished Meredith the sonne of Conan ap Owen Gwynedd suspected of treason, and seised the cantreds^l of Llûn and Evioneth, which were Conan's lands, into his own hands. Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Itinerarium Cambriæ* fayeth, that the cantreds of Llûn and Evioneth were the possessions of Owen Gwynedd's children when he

^k It must be admitted that these facts are not stated with proper attention to their dates.

^l A cantred is a district of country, which is thus described by Giraldus Cambrensis; "Unius commoti solum, i. e. quarta pars cantredi; habet autem hæc insula (sc. Mona) trecentas quadraginta villas, & *pro tribus cantredis reputatur.*" The cantreds of Llûn and Evioneth are in the S. W. parts of Carnarvonshire. The latter is so called from its being watered with many streams.

passed

passed through Wales, and that they had two castles, the one in Carnmadrin in Llûn, the other called Dewdraeth juxta montana de Erryri; which confirmeth that Ardydwy and Evioneth made but one cantred, for Penrhyn Dewdraeth, where that castle stood, is in Ardydwy^m. I am of opinion that the cantreds of Llûn and Evioneth were the possessions of Rodri, and given by this Prince Llewelyn, upon the expulsion of Rodri from the principality, to this Meredith ap Conan: howsoever it was, the posterity of Rodri held it till the conquest of Wales by the King of England, and then how they lost what remayned undivided into small portions, shall hereafter be shewed in this History.

Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, married Joane the daughter of King John, begotten by his wife Agatha, daughter of

^m Ardydwy is a hundred in the N. Western part of Merionethshire,

Robert Ferrers, Earle of Darby. The King in marriage gave with his daughter the lordship of Elefmer in the marches of Wales. Some will affirme that Agatha was not the King's wife, but paramour. But that is most untrue, for he married her long before he was King, and because she bare noe issue male (as some affirme) divorced himselfe from her ; others thinke she died anone after he was King ^a.

^a Joane was, however, most certainly the illegitimate daughter of Agatha, as there is in Rymer an instrument thus entitled, " De remissione Lewelino " Walliæ Principi qui *Joannam Regis filiam notham* " duxerat in uxorem."—It concludes, " Et quod " ipsum deinceps *pro filio* habebimus," vol. i. par. i. p. 48. anno 1208. 10 Joh.

Accordingly, four years afterwards, King John sends a letter ; " Dilecto filio suo Lewelino Principi " Walliæ." Ibid. p. 65.

What seems still more extraordinary, in the next reign, this spurious daughter of K. John's is stiled by Henry the Third, his sister, and Lewelin *sometimes* his brother, as likewise David, the son of this marriage, his nephew. See vol. I. par. i. p. 81, 98,

Prince

Prince Llewelyn in his youth, long before this recited marriage, had married

& 100. in which last reference Lewelin's wife is also stiled *Domina Norwalliæ*.

The stone coffin in which, according to tradition, this daughter of K. John's was buried, is still used as a trough for the cattle to drink out of, not far from a farm house called Friars, which is situated in the island of Anglesey about a mile N. of Beaumaris, on the sea-coast. She is supposed to have been buried in the neighbouring church of Llanvays; and that this part of the tradition is true, appears by the following extract from an instrument in Rymer:

Pro Fratribus Minorum de Llanvaysii in Insula nostra de Anglesey.

. Considerantes quod in eadem domo corpus tam *filiae Regis Johannis progenitoris nostri* quam *fili Regis Daciæ*, necnon corpora Domini de Clyffort &c. *sepulta existunt*. Rymer, vol. iv. part. ii. p. 83. A. D. 1414, & 2 Hen. V.

These sons of the King of *Dacia** I should rather

* *Dacia* is generally agreed to be a large tract of country on the Danube. (See Baudrand in Articulo). In Rymer's Collection, however, it always signifies Denmark; instances of this frequently occur till the reign of Q. Elizabeth, when the King of Denmark is stiled *Rex Daniæ*.

Tangwystl, daughter of Lowarch Goch of Rhos, by whom he begate a most valiant sonne, called Gruffith ap Lewelyn, who, as heire apparent in his father's time, after many warrs betweene him and his father, had the cantreds of Englefield, Ros, Rovoniog, and Dyffryn Clwyd given him by his father, being countreys next adjoyning unto England, to the end he might defend his countrey from the English.

This Gruffith, in his father's time, married Sina, or Senena, as the Latine Booke ° calleth her, daughter to Cariadog ap Tho' ap Rodri ap Owen Gwey-

suppose to be natural ones, as Joan was of K. John : they had probably joined the army of Edward the First when he was in Wales.

° It is rather difficult to ascertain what history of Wales the author means to refer to by what he stiles *the Latine booke*. Caradoc of Lancarvan's History ended with the year 1156, and therefore
ned :

ned: some of our Welsh pedigrees say she was the daughter of the King of Man, but it is an untruth; there are other most ancient records to the contrary, veryfying as here is laid downe.

Also it is evident her brethren Eingan ap Cariadog and Gruffith ap Cariadog lost their lands in the quarel of her sonne, Llewelyn ap Griffith, last

long before Gruffith's marriage. It was continued indeed by the bards (which belonged to the two abbeys of Conway and Stratflur) to the year 1270; but Dr. Powel, who mentions the above particulars, does not state whether this continuation was in Welsh or Latin. As it chiefly depended upon the Bards at their *clera*, I should suppose that it was in the Welsh language. As for Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose history is in Latin, all the transactions he gives an account of are long anterior to what is here alluded to. It should therefore seem that the author refers to Matthew Paris or some of our Historians, who wrote in Latin, and occasionally take notice of Welsh occurrences.

Prince

Prince of Wales, when his uncle David held the principallitie against him, as shall hereafter appeare. In Prince Llewelyn ap Jerwerth's time you shall find mencion made of Howell ap Gruffith ap Conan ap Owen Gwynedd, whom the Prince doth banish in anno 1211, and after, in anno 1215, you shall find him first remembred in the honourable voyage Prince Llewelyn made unto South-Wales, when he rased Carmarthen. (Quere, Where his possessions were? and who are come of him?) Howell ap Gruff' ap Conan was buried at Conway.

I find not, during Prince Llewelyn ap Jerwerth's raigne, any mencion made of any thing done by the posterity of Rodri ap Owen Gwynedd: a man may easily guesse the reason, for this Prince held them under, and suspected lest they should

aspire to the princely dignity, which their ancestors sometime had held.

In the raigne of David, sonne to the said Prince Llewelyn by Joane King John's daughter, who began to raigne anno 1240, Eingan and Gruff' ap Cariadog tooke parte with their sister's sonne, Llewelyn ap Gruff', the last Prince of Wales of that line, afterwards slayne at Buellt.

We receave it by tradition from father to sonne in Evioneth, that David ap Llewelyn being Prince by the ayde of his uncle, the King came to the towne of Pwllhely in Llûn to parle with the bretheren Eingan and Gruff'; whom the bretheren met with such a force on the day of truce, that the Prince told them they were too strong to be subjects; whereto they answered,
that

that he was rather too weake to be Prince, and soe parted without any conclusion or agreement. In the end they were forced by long warrs to forgoe that countrey, and to lose their land there, and to joyne themselves to their nephew Llewelyn ap Grifith, who then had his court at Maesmynan in Flintshire. He also held, as is before-mentioned, the cantreds of Englefield, Dyffryn Clwyd, Ros, and Rovoniawg, against his uncle David; haveing warre on the one side with the King, on the other side with his uncle, who gave them greate possessions (as some thinke) as afore is remembred about Denbigh Castle.

Llewelyn, the sonne of Gruffith, their nephew, after the death of his uncle David, attayning the government of Wales, restored to his uncles their lands and possessions in the county of Carnarvon.

I find

I find noe record of any thing done by them in the time of the same Prince.

Eignan ap Cariadog had a sonne, of whome mention shall be made hereafter, called Tudur Lord of Penychen^p, Penyberth, and Baladeulyn, and whether he had any more sonnes is to me uncertain.

Gruff' ap Cariadog married Leuki, daughter of Llowarch Vaughan ap Llowarch Goch ap Llowarch Holbwrch, and had but one sonne to my knowledge, called David ap Gruffith; which David married Eva the sole heiress of Gruffith Vaughan ap Gruffith ap Mereithig of Penyfed in Evioneth, by whome he had three sonnes,

^p This is a township near the sea, in the Parish of Aberarch in Carnarvonshire, and situated between the towns of Crekeith and Pullhely. It signifies the *Point* or *Promontory of Oxen*.

viz.

viz. David, Meredith, and Howell. This appears by the record of the extent made of Denbigh land, in the time of Edward the first, by Henry Lacy Earle of Lincolne, to whome the King gave that land upon the conquest of Wales: for Henry Lacy minding to make a princely feate of the castle of Denbigh, per force compassed the children of the said David ap Gruff' to exchange their possessions about Denbigh Castle (which were great) with him for other lands of lesse value in the said lordship, in the furthest part from him: the words of the record follow thus ¶.

How they left the Lordship of Friwlwyd, and other their lands in the County of Carnarvon, I can find no record of, but only have it by tradition, that it was taken from them by the King's officers, for to this day it is parte of the

¶ By some mistake however the record is omitted in the MS.

principalitie of Wales; which is not unlike, considering what befell to the other cozens, the heirs of Penychen, Penyberth, and Baladeulyn, whereof there is a very good record and certaine, remaynyng in the prince's treasury in Carnarvon.

Eignan ap Cariadog had one sonne called Tudur ap Eingan, and one daughter called Gwervile, whereof the record ensueing after maketh mention. You are to understand, that after the conqueste of Wales, the countrey in generall, as well as in particular, found themselves aggrieved for the wronges offered by the English officers, and soe sent certaine men with their generall and private grieffes to the prince lying at Kennington^r neare London in the time

^r This place in Domesday is stiled *Chenintune*, but now *Kennington*. It is situated in the parish of
of

of the Parliament in anno 33d of Edward the First, among the which these are mentioned ^r.

West Lambeth, and was formerly a royal palace. See Maitland's London, vol. ii. p. 1387.

^r Petitiones de Kennington factæ apud Kennington p' homines North-Wallia p' Comitatibus p' sing'lares personas exhibitæ D'no principi filio Regis Edwardi conquestoris Wallia & consilio suo apud Kennington extra London tempore Parliamenti p'dict' regis habiti apud Westminsterium 1^{ma} Dominica quadragesimæ an'o regni Regis p'dict' Edwardi 33^o, & Responsiones ad easdem Petitiones factæ & liberatæ Justic' North-Wallia sub privato sigillo dicti D'ni Principis ad executionem responsionum p'dict' faciend' & eas firmiter observandum in p'tib' North-Wallia.

Ad petitionem Leolini & Gruffini filioru' Oweni ap Llewelyn de eo q'd Tudur ap Eingan avunculus erat D'nus de Baladeulyn, Penechyn, & Penyerth in Com' Carnarvon & seifitus post pacem p'clamat' fere p' unum annum, post cujus decessum tenementa p'dict' ad Gwervillam sororem dict' Tudur descendisse debuerunt, sed domina Regina mater Principis affectavit tenementa illa & ea a D'no obtinuit, quæ quidem tenementa nunc sunt in manu principis & ad eos jure hereditatis spectant; unde petunt remedium. Responsum est, q'd Justic' in-

It

It is necessary for the understanding of this record, and the sense thereof, that you first understand, that after the death of Prince Llewelyn in Buellt, the King made a proclamation of peace to all the inhabitants of Wales, receiving them all that would come in and yeald themselves to him into his protection; graunting the use aud fruition of their lands, liberties, and privileges they held before in their countrey under the Prince of Wales. This is the peace specified in the record: after which

formet se sup' content' in petitione p'dicta, & quo tempore dictus Tudur obiit, & si forisfecit necne, & omnibus circumstanciis, & certificet inde dominum ad petitionem eorum dicti Llewelyn & Gruffini q'd dominus velit concedere eis aliquas ballivas in Com' Carnarvon p'debita firma inde reddenda quousq; discussum sit quid de eorum hæreditate fuerit faciendum. Responsum est quod p'tinet ad Justic' ordinare de ballivis p'ut utilitati domini melius viderit expedire.

D

Tudur

Tudur ap Eingan had held his lands almost one yeare. To whom or to what family this Gwervill was married I cannot as yet learne. This land soe taken is part of the possessions of the principallitie of Wales to this day. It is to be noted here, that all the selfe same time, in the raigne of Edward the First, the Queene his wife tooke perforce the land of Eingan ap Cariadog's offspring in the county of Carnarvon, and Henry Lacie exchanged perforce, with Gruff' ap Cariadog's offspring in Denbigh land, and that the cozens stood in equall degree of kindred one to another, viz. cozen germans removed ; which hard dealing must needs pull downe a kindred. It cannot be otherwise alsoe, but that Friwlwyd was by the same Queene, or by the Justice Will' Sutton or others, who dealt hardly with the gentrie of these parts in those days, taken from the posterity.

posterity of Gruff', for it is parte of the principallitie to these daies, although the record proving this happened not to fall into my hands.

But to recurre to the offspring of Gruff' ap Cariadog, and their succession, with the estate and condition they lived in from time to time unto this day; it being my purpose to treat thereof. Out of the three brethren, David, Meredith, and Howell, who exchanged, as above is remembred, with the Earle of Lincolne, the posterity onely of Howell doth remaine in credite and shew in their countrey, the posterity of the other two being by division and subdivision of gavelkind (the destruction of Wales) brought to the estate of meane freeholders, and soe haveing forgotten their descents and pedigree, are become as they never had been. If you aske the question why the succession of Howell sped better than the posterity of the other two brethren, I can

yeald no other reason, but God's mercy and goodnes towards the one more than the other, as God sayd in the booke of Moses, "I will have mercy on whome
 " I will have mercy," for they lived in the same commonwealth, and under the same storme of oppression, soe as if God had not left us a seed, we had beene like Sodom, or compared to Gomorrha. Nevertheless by the goodnes of God we are and continue in the reputation of gentlemen from time to time sithence unto this day, as shall appeare by the discourse following. The offspring of David ap Meredith hold the land exchanged by the Earle of Lincolne with their ancestors, viz. the towneship of Yfcorebryll in Eglwys vach ^s and halfe Maethebroyd in Llanrwt ^t, and are re-

^s Eglwys vach (or the little church) is a parish in the S. W. part of Denbighshire.

^t The town of Lanrwt is also in Denbighshire, not far distant from the parish of Eglwys vach.

puted to be descended from Gruffith ap Conan in the quarter where they dwell, but yet are not able to lay downe the certayntie of their pedegree.

David ap Gruff' ap Cariadog (as before mentioned) married Eva the daughter and heirefs of Gruff' Vaughan ap Gruff' ap Morythig, and by her had that land which in the extent of North Wales is called Gwely Griffry in Penyved in Evioneth in the county of Carnarvon; the quit rent of the Prince out of this Gwely^u is 3 l. 19 s. Which Morithig the grandfather of this woman was, I am uncertaine, for there were two of that name; one in North Wales, who is descended from Sandde Hardd O Vortyn, from whome the chiefe men in *Tale* and *Maelor*^x derive their descent; and ano-

^u This word hath been before explained.

^x Extensive Lordships in Denbighshire.

ther in South Wales, called Morithyg Warwyn, of whome are come all the Vaughans. It did not appear by the Welsh pedegrees, that this Griffry^y was descended of Morythig, till I found the record in the Exchequer of Carnarvon. If a man list to be curious which of both Morythigs this was, let him find whether of them lived nearest this time, and that sure was he.

Howell ap David^d married Eva the daughter and heire of Jevan ap Howell ap Meredith of Evioneth (by some cards^z of pedegree she is called Myfanwy^a) and had by her large possessions in Evioneth, which to this day re-

^y *Griffry* is before explained to be the name of a place, and not of a man. It should seem to have been a mistake of the copier for *Gruff*³, a contraction the author frequently uses for the name of *Gryffith*.

^z This is used for charts.

^a i. e. Perhaps, *My Fanny*. See an ode to *Myfanwy Fychan* amongst Evans's specimens of Welsh Poetry,
maine

maine in the posterity of the said Howell, yet mangled with division and subdivision of gavelkinde.

Memorandum, That Evan ap Howell ap Meredith had another daughter and coheirefs, married to one of Penllyn of the stocke of Riridflaidd of Penllyn, her name was Gwenllian, and she married Jevan ap Gruff' ap Madog ap Riridflaidd of Penllyn^z. The said Jevan ap Howell ap Meredith had a third daughter and coparcener that married Howell ap Gronw ap Jevan ap Gronw ap Howell of Maelor, and by him she had two daughters, viz. Gwervile married to Tudur ap Hob-y-dili, the other was Alician, who married Puleston, and brought Havod y werne to that family. Evan ap Howell ap Meredith, father to this Eva, was brother to Gruff' ap Howell ap Meredith, who was father

^z Penllynn is a hundred in Merionethshire.

to Einion ap Gruff', father to Jevan ap Einion and Howell. This Howell was knighted at the field of Poyctiers, and by our country-men is reported to have taken the French King; but howsoever it was, he did such service there, that the Prince bestowed a messe of meate to be served up dayly during his life before his battle-axe, which after was bestowed on the poore, whereof he was called Sir Howell y *fwyall*^a. He was alsoe constable of Chester and Criketh Castles^b, and had the mills to farme, and other many great office, and places of profit. Of Jevan ap Eingan his brother are descended very many gentlemen of principall account in the county of Carnarvon. Howell begate Meredith and David, Meredith ap Howell dwelled in Evioneth at his houses Keffin y fan,

^a *Fwyall* signifies an axe.

^b Some small remains of this castle still continue. It is on the sea-coast of Carnarvonshire.

and

and Keselgiffarch, and David ap Howell in Llanrwt in Denbigh land, at his house called Henblas in Maethebroyd. Meredith ap Howell married Morvydd the daughter of Jevan ap David ap Trahayarn goch of Llûn, who was descended of the house of Rys ap Teudwr. In the extent of North Wales, made in the 26th of Edward the Third, you shall find that Meredith ap Howell and others are the heires of Gwely. Griff' David ap Howell his brother married ^c

viz. Jevan ap Howell ap Meredith, the daughter of Gwenllian, and Jevan ap Griff' ap Madog ap Jerwerth was wife to Reignall ap Bleddyn, and had by her issue Robin Vaughan ap David ap Howell, who married Angharad the daughter of Rys ap Gruff' ap Rys ap Ednyfed Vaughan, and had noe issue male, but one daughter called Cattrin ap Robin Vaughan, who married Rys ap Eingan

^c There is a blank in this part of the MS.

Vaughan of Llanrwst, a gentleman of the house of Penwyn in Nanconwy and Denbigh Land; who having noe issue male by her, but daughters, the greatest parte of the possessions of that house, which were now worth a thousand markes a yeare, came to the Salisburies. For Robert Salisbury the elder, fourth sonne of Tho. Salisbury of Lleweny, in the county of Denbigh, Esq; married Gwenhwyfar, the daughter of Rys ap Eingan and Catherin the daughter of Robin Vaughan ap David ap Howell. Rys ap Eingan had one other daughter by her, called Lleify, to whom he gave faire possessions; but nothing comparable to the other, that was married to Gruff ap Madog Vaughan in Abergeley^c. All the inheritance of this Robin Vaughan ap David ap Howell, held after the Welsh tenure, within the lordship of Denbigh,

^c Abergeley is a town in the western part of Denbighshire, near the sea.

was, by the custome of the countrey, to descend to his heire male, and so descended to Jevan, the sonne of Robt ap Meredith his cosen, as hereafter shall be laid downe, in the life of the said Jevan. I have in my house the probate of the testament of Morvydd, the wife of Meredith ap Howell, as faire to behold as at the first day, bearing date anno 1416. The probate of the will is dated at Krikieth, before one Robt Swaython, official of the Archdeacon of Merioneth. Mredith ap Howell had by her two sonnes, Robt and Jevan, and a daughter, called Marfli, married to Jenkin Conwey of Ruddlan, mother to Hen Sion *acer*^d y Conwey, of whome all the Conweys, of Ruddlan and Bodriddan, and Lords of Prestatyn, are descended. She was the first Welsh-woman that was ma-

^d There is no word in Dr. Davis's Dictionary nearer to this than *achor*, which he supposes to signify *little*.

ried into that house, as John Conwey, Esq; my cosen, (now Lord thereof) told me. John Tudur, one of our Welsh heraulds, sayth, that there was a third brother called Robin, whose daughter and heire Ithel Vaughan married, and therefore those descended from him, doe quarter Owen Gwynedd's eglets^d.

I find an obligacion, bearing date 20 July, 2^o Edward IV. wherein John ap Meredith standeth bound to Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith to stand to the award of Gruff' ap Robin ap Gruff', and Lewis ap Howell ap Llewelyn, arbitrators elect for the said John ap Meredith, and Meredyth ap Rys, and Jevan ap Howell ap Rys ap Eingan, arbitrators elect for the said Jevan ap Robert, to parte certaine tenements betweene them in Evioneth: and in case they could

^d These are mentioned in the Preface, to have been the arms of Owen Gwynedd.

not agree, then was Howell ap Eingan ap Howell Coetmore named umpire.

Memorandum, That during Robert ap Mered' his time, the inheritance descended to him and his brother was not parted after the custome of the Countrey, being gavelkind; but Jevan being married enjoyed both their houses, viz. Keven y vann and Kefelgyfarch: and for that Jevan, then Constable of Criketh, clave fast to the King, Owen Glyndwr burned them both to *cold ashes*^d. Neither was the inheritance betwene their posterity divided, untill such time as Jevan the sonne of this Robert was married and had many children, as may appeare by the indentures of partition betweene Jevan the sonne of this Robert, and John ap Meredith

^d A similar expression of *cold coals* is used afterwards in this History.

ap Jevan, grandchild to the other brother Jevan, the one parte of which indentures I have. Those that made partition betweene them were these, Thomas ap Robin of Kychwillan, that married Gwenhwyfar, and Jevan ap Meredith. This Thomas ap Robin was after beheaded neare the castle of Conwey by the Lord Herbert, for that he was a follower of the house of Lancaster: and his wife is reported to have carried away his head in her apron. Some affirme Jevan ap Meredith to be the elder brother, and foe doth all the race that are of him contend: myself, and those that are come of Robert, have this reason to think him to be the elder. Robert had issue Jevan, Jevan his brother had issue Meredith, Meredith had issue John, John being of man's estate had the tuition of his uncle Jevan ap Robert, my ancestor, and yet Robin Vaughan

Vaughan ap David ap Howell's land in Denbigh land, being cozen to them both, descended to Jevan ap Robert, my ancestor, and not to John ap Meredith; which I hold for an invincible argument that Jevan is descended from the elder. Alsoe I have the King's Writte, directed to Robert Meredith, Meredith ap Jevan ap Meredith, and to the principall gentlemen of Evioneth, for the apprehension of Jevan ap Robin Herwr, a notable rebell and outlaw, and others of his qualitie; which writt doth place Robert ap Meredith first before his nephew, which alsoe may fortifie the opinion of them who hold him to be the elder brother to Jevan ap Meredith. The wordes of the writ doe follow, in hæc verba^e.

• HENRICUS Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ & D'nus Hiberniæ, dilectis sibi Roberto ap Meredith, Meredith ap Jevan ap Meredith, Rys ap Tudur, Howell ap Madog ap Jevan, John ap
But

But howsoever it be, the gavelkind
and custume of the country not yeald-

Gronw, & Howell ap Jevan Vaughn, Salutem.
Quia p' certo sumus informati, q'd Jevan ap Robin
& alii diversi notorii utlegati & incogniti de die
in diem vi & armis cum diversis felon' in comitiva
sua, ut dicitur, faciunt ambulationes sup' diversos
fidelium nostrorum infra comitatum n'rum de
Carnarvon & diversos de eisd' fidelib' spoliaverunt,
& male tractaverunt in destructionem & depaup'a-
tionem ligeorum nostrorum manifestam, ac contra
formam statutorum progenitorum nostrorum in hac
p'te p'visorum. Assignavimus vos & unumquemq;
vestrum conjunctim & divisim ad arrestandum &
capiendum p'dict' Jevan ap Robin & alios in co-
mitiva sua existent' p' corpora ubicumq; inventi
fuerint infra com'otum de Evioneth & eos salvos
& securos usq; castrum n'rum de Carnarvon in-
dilate duci faciatis constabulario n'ro ibid' libe-
randos & in eodem castro moraturos quousq; de
eorum deliberatione aliter duxerim' ordinandum;
& ideo vobis mandamus q'd circa p'missa diligenter
intendatis & ea faciatis cum effectu sicut inde co-
ram nobis respondere valueritis. Damus autem
univ'fis & singulis fidelibus n'ris tenore p'sentium
firmiter in mandatis quod vobis & cuilibet vestrum
ing

ing to the elder any prerogative or superiority more than to the younger, it is not a matter to be stood upon. Indeed Jevan ap Meredith married in his youth Lleiki the daughter of Howell Sele ap Mereicke, of the house of Nanney in Merionethshire^f, and begat by her Meredith ap Jevan; whome in his youth he matched with Margaret the daughter of Einion ap Ithel of Rhiwedog^g in Penllyn in the county of Me-

in omnib' quæ ad arrestationem & captionem p'dicti Jevani ap Robin & aliorum p'tinent' intendentes sint, auxiliantes, fortificantes, & p' omnia respondentes. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri faciamus patentes. T. meipso apud Carnarvon 28 die Augusti anno regni n'ri vicesimo.

^f *Nanney* is a very ancient family-seat, about three miles N. of Dolgelly in Merionethshire. It stands perhaps on higher ground than any *Gentleman's* house in Great Britain. In Saxton's maps it is spelt *Nanna*, as it continues to be commonly pronounced. There are some traditional anecdotes about Howell Sele, or *Sale*, in the neighbourhood of Nanney.

^g *Rhiwedog* is also a very ancient family-seat in Merionethshire, about a mile S. E. from Bala.

E

rioneth,

rioneth, Esq; of the tribe of Ririd flaidh,
and Howell ap Jevan ap Meredith.

Quere. If any males descended of
this Howell, be living now? Owen Hol-
land of Berw, and Rytherch ap Ri-
chard of Myfyrion in Anglesey are de-
scended by females from him, as Richard
Gruffith ap Hugh affirmeth? Alsoe it
should be knowne how this land is gone
from his posteritie.

This Einion ap Ithel was Esquire to
John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, to
whome for his service, as well in the
time of warre as peace, he gave a pen-
sion of twenty markes per annum, issua-

In Saxton's maps it is spelt *Ruedok*. The name is
said to signify the *bloody-bank*, and by tradition a
great battle was fought near this spot.

ing.

ing out of his manor of *Halton*ⁱ: The charter I have seene being in French, with the Duke's seale and armes, and it remaineth in the custody of John Owen of *Ystymkegid*^k, Esq; the heire of Owen ap John ap Meredith.

ⁱ There are many Halton's in England. See Spelman's *Index Villaris*.

^k *Ystymkegid* was formerly one of the seats of the Owens of Cleneney, and is in the parish of Dolbenman in Carnarvonshire. The mansion house of this family is now at Porkinton in Shropshire; and it may be perhaps said that there is more irrefragable proof of the same spot having been the capital mansion of the Owens for a longer time, than probably can be produced by any other family in Europe. The following order of Henry III. transcribed from Rymer, proves that Porkinton belonged to the Owens nearly 650 years ago. "Rex Lewelino Principi Sal. Sciatis quod— & "Bledh filius Oeni de *Porkinton* venerunt ad fidem " & servitium nostrum." See Rymer, vol. i. par. i. p. 76. A. D. 1218. and 2 Hen. III.

Meredith ap Jevan ap Meredith, begat by the daughter of Einion ap Ithel, John ap Meredith, (who married and was at man's estate afore his grandfather's brother, Robert ap Meredith, my ancestor, ever married ;) and Robert ap Meredith, Abbot of Bardsey. This may be accounted for, as we have it by certaine tradition, that Robert was almost eighty years old before he ever married, and then in his dotage fancied and married Angarad the daughter of David ap Elyn ap David of Kefn-melgoed in the county of Cardigan, whose wife was the daughter of Rytherch ap Jevan Llwyd of that countrey ; by her he had issue Jevan ap Robert and several daughters. From this Robert the Abbot are descended my three *pencenedle*¹, because they are descended of church nobilitie, viz. Gruffith ap Richard

¹ *Pencenedl* signifies head of a family.

of Madryn issa, Robert ap Richard of Llocheiddior, and Owen ap John ap Jevan ap Robert of Bron y foel, and Kefn Kyfanedd in Evioneth.

The case why this Robert ap Meredith was so long unmarried may appear partly by record, and partly by tradition; it is certaine, that as in the time of Henry the Fourth, Jevan ap Meredith had matched his sonne (as is aforefaid) to Einion ap Ithele's daughter, who belonged to the house of Lancaster: soe he clave fast to that house in the time that Owen Glyndwr rebelled in Wales. Soe that in the time of that warre he and Meredith ap Hwlkyn Llwyd of Glynllifon^m, had the charge of the town of Carnarvon, and an English captain was over the castle; in re-

^m This place lies about six miles S. of Carnarvon.

venge whereof, Owen burned his two houses, Keven y van and Kefelgyfarch in Evioneth. In the proceſſe of continuance of this warre Jevan died at Carnarvon, and was brought by ſea (for the paſſages by land were ſhut up by Owen's forces) to Penmorvaⁿ, his pariſh church, to be buried. Robert his brother, taking a clean contrary courſe, was out with Owen Glyndwr, as may be gathered by a pardon granted him in the ninth yeare of Henry the Fifth, then Prince of Wales, which I have to ſhew, whereof the true copie enſueth °.

ⁿ *Penmorva* ſignifies *at the end or head of the marſh*. This village is ſituated at the entrance of the Traethmawr ſands, which divide Merioneth and Carnarvonſhire.

° HENRICUS illuſtris Regis Angliæ & Franciæ primogenitus, Princeps Angliæ, Dux Aquitaniæ, Lancaſtriæ & Cornubiæ, & Comes Ceſtriæ, locum tenens metuentiſſimi d'ni n'ri regis & patris in p'tib' South-Walliæ & North-Walliæ o'ibus & ſingulis p'ſentes literas n'ras inſpecturis, Salutem.

Rys

Rys Goch of Eryri, a bard of that time, made him a song, shewing what

Sciatis quod nos autoritate & potestate nobis p' ipsum metuentissimum d'um n'rum regem & patrem com'issis, ac etiam pro quadam fine nobis p' Rob'tum ap Meredith ap Howell nuper rebellem dicti d'ni n'ri regis & patris in partib' Walliæ, ad opus ejusd' d'ni n'ri regis & patris soluta; recepimus & admisimus dictum Robertum ad gratiam p'dicti d'ni n'ri regis & patris, & ei pardonamus no'i'e ejusd' d'ni regis & patris sectam pacis suæ quæ ad ipsum do'i'um n'rum regem & patrem p'tinet p' omnimodis p'ditionib', rebellionibus, incendiis, felonis, adhæSIONIB', transgressionibus, misprisionib', & malefactis quibuscumq; p' p'dictum Robertum in p'tibus & marchis Walliæ ante hæc tempora factis sive p'petratis, unde indictatus, *vetatus* *, rectatus, vel appellatus existit, ac etiam utlegariis, si qua in ipsum his occasionib' fuerint p'mulgata, & firmam pacem p'dicti d'ni regis & patris inde concedimus, ac ea bona & catalla sua quæcumq; dicto d'no n'ro regi & patri occasionibus premis forisfacta no'i'e & autoritate p'dictis concedimus p' p'sentes: ita tamen q'd stet rectus in curia p'dicti d'ni regis & patris & n'ra, si quis versus eum loqui voluerit de p'missis vel

* This word properly signifies to *injoin* or *forbid*; it is corruptly used for *vetitus*. See du Cange, in articulo.

notable qualities he had, and yet durst not name him therein, for that as it seemeth he was an outlaw at that time when the song was made, but sheweth in the song his descent from Gruff' ap Conan, and that he was the hope of that stocke.

The Song that Rys Goch made to Robert ap Meredith beginneth thus :

H I R y bu Ruffudd ruddbar
 Waywdan fab Cynan ein car
 Ar goesgeirch hir gwayw ysgwyd
 Yn gorwedd Llew Flamgledd Llwyd
 A'i dalaith Llwybr goddaith Llaw
 Fynnodd gynt yn kelffeiniaw

aliquo p'missorum; in cujus rei testimonium has litteras n'ras fieri fecimus patentes. Dat' London xx die Septembris anno dicti metuentissimi n'ri regis & patris Henrici quarti post conquestum ix^o. Irrotulatur ad sessionem tentam apud Carnarvon die Lunæ proximo post festum assumptionis beatæ Mariæ Virginis an'o principatus d'ni H. principis Walliæ, undecimo.

Tann

Tann oerfab bid tan arfoll
 Na chryn ddyn ni chrynodd oll
 Mae arno gaink llathrfaink Llv
 Etifedd propr yn tyfv
 Yn dwyn yftod fragod frig
 Garw ben hydd gwr boneheddig
 O bryd a Llafn hyfryd hedd
 Ag yfgythr brwydr ag ofgedd
 O gampau anwydav naid
 Frytanawl hen frytaniaid
 Om Gofyn emyn ymwal
 Dyn anosbarthys ei dal
 Pwy i henw nim difenwir
 Bedydd ar dv gwerydd dir
 Y gwr a elwir yn gainc
 Dylwyth-fawr ar dalaith-fainc
 Alexander niferoedd
 A mvr a phen mawr hoff oedd
 Trystan ddoethran addeithryw
 Dvlath avr ei dalaith yw
 Bonedd ond odid benoeth
 Y cwyfsg yn hen farwn coeth

Rhwng

Rhwng Hafren hoywddwr gloywglaf
 Llv gwrth a lli a garthan
 Ni ad gwawd pechawd heb pwyll
 O gandaith genfigendwyll
 Son am y cymro os iach
 Pwyllog doeth a fo pellach
 Pe megid evrid araith
 Cenav o neb Cynan iaith
 Hir ddewr lan hardd eryr lid
 Henw mygr o hwn y megid
 Ymgroesed gwawd dafawd hen
 Ymgais ni wn i amgen.

Rys Goch or Eyri ai kant.

“ Long did our friend [or kinsman],
 “ Gryfudd ap Conan, with his bloody
 “ spear, fiery lance, shield and flaming
 “ sword lye dormant like a greyheaded
 “ lion, whilst his country was all in a
 “ blaze by the hands of the enemy, who
 “ heaped together dry wood to kindle
 “ [welcome] the fire. Tremble not at the
 “ relation,

" relation, he did not tremble. From him
 " there grows a beautiful branch eminent
 " in battle and master of the British
 " Games. If my *disordered head*^p is asked
 " the Christian name of him who is called
 " a descendant of the great family on the
 " throne of the province, it is Alexander,
 " the beloved chief of the multitude with
 " the golden crown of *Trystan the Wise*^q.

^p This is a common expression in the Welsh language: when any thing dangerous was spoken, they feigned madness. — This explanatory note was added by the learned gentleman who made the version of this poem.

^q Trystan was the son of a King of Cornwall, who was educated under Merlin, and became a most famous Knight errant of Arthur's Round Table *.

From his having been instructed under such a tutor, and many of his achievements having been performed in Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland, it is not extraordinary that he should be celebrated by the Welsh Bards. As for the epithet of *wife*, he merited this title probably from the instructions of

* See the *Adventures of this Knight*, printed at Venice, 1552, 2 vol. 4to.

" I pro-

“ I prophecy he will deserve the high title
 “ of a wise baron, and withstand an army
 “ between the famous water of the Severn
 “ and the clear stream of Garthen. Dark
 “ envy and detraction will not suffer his
 “ praise to be celebrated. If it is his de-
 “ sert, timid caution avaunt. If any strait,
 “ beautiful, and brave offspring of Cy-
 “ nan’s lineage ’ was ever bred, this must

Merlin, and the ancient Knight Errant was sup-
 posed commonly to have every other virtue, as
 well as that of valour. Hence *les neuf Preux*,
 most properly signifies the *nine Worthies*, though
 they are at the same time *Champions*. A MS. in
 the French King’s library is intitled, “ *Les nobles*
 “ *faits du tres preux & bon Chevalier Messire*
 “ *Tristan.*” See the *Bibliothèque des Romans*, p. 252.

The reverend Dr. Percy hath a very fair MS. of
 the adventures of the same Knight amongst his
 very curious and valuable collection : it is sup-
 posed to be of the 13th or 14th century.

‘ The expression *iaith* in the original signifies
 properly *tongue* : thus *lingua Walensum* in some
 old records signifies the *Welsh nation*. For more
 ample satisfaction, however, on this head, the

“ be

“ be he. Beware the scoff of those who
“ have before detracted ; if I speak of
“ him it must be to his honour.”

Composed by Rees Goch (or Rhys
the Red) of Eryri’.

This is the most ancient song I can find
extant which is addressed to any of my an-

reader is referred to the reverend Mr. Hurd’s
learned and ingenious Dialogues, vol. ii. p. 17.
where he instances the tralatitious use of the word
laga, which signifies both a law and a country.

* This Bard is placed by Llwyd in his Archæolo-
gia in the 15th century, about 1420. He styles
him Rys Goch o Eryri, or *of the Snowdon moun-
tains*. It should seem that the inhabitants of this
tract have long been much addicted to poetry, as a
rock is shewn by the shepherds, pretty near the
summit, under which, if two persons sleep on a
midsummer’s eve, the one will wake out of his
senses, and the other a poet.

See a poem by this bard amongst the *Specimens
of Welsh Poetry*, by the reverend Mr. Evan Evans.
Printed for Doddsley, 1764.

cestors

cestors since the raigne of Edward the First, who caused our bards all to be hanged by martial law ^t, as stirrers of the people to sedition, whose example being followed by the governours of Wales, untill Henry the Fourth his time, was the utter destruction of that sort of men. Sithence, this kind of people were at some further libertie to sing and to keep pedegrees, as in ancient time they were wont ; since which we have some light of antiquitie by their songes and writings ^u. From the reigne of Edward the First to Henry the Fourth

^t Edward the First hath been also accused of having destroyed all the ancient records and writings in Scotland, after his conquest of that kingdom. See this however very ably refuted by Sir David Dalrymple, in his *Examination into the supposed antiquity of the Regiam Majestatem*. Edinburgh, 1769, 4to.

^u See a commission, in the time of Q. Elizabeth, to settle who were real bards or otherwise, prefixed to Evans's *Specimens of Welsh Poetry*.

there

there is therefore noe certainty, or very little, of things done, other than what is to be found in the Princes records, which now^w, by tossing the same from the Exchequer at Carnarvon to the Tower, and to the offices in the Exchequer at London, as alsoe by ill keeping and ordering of late dayes, are become a chaos and confusion with a total neglect of method and order, as would be needful for him who would be ascertained of the truth of things done from time to time. I have, to my chardge, done what I could, but for my travell have reaped little or nothing, as you see.

You shall finde in the ministers acc^{ts}, in Henry the Fourth his time, Robert ap Meredith, farmour of Dol-

^w It should seem, from this, that these records were removed from Carnarvon near the time when the author wrote.

benman,

benman^x, the Kinges weare of Aber-
glaslyn^y, the mill of Dwyfor, and of
other the King's thinges about his
dwelling.

Jevan the sonne of Robert ap Mere-
dith being a child of tender age, on
the death of his father, was in the tui-
tion of his cosen german's sonne, John
ap Meredith ap Jevan, his next kinsman,
who crosse married him and his sister with
Howell ap Rhys ap Howell Vaughan of
the house of Bron y foel in Evioneth.
This family, in those dayes, was of greate
possessions and abilitie, and was then ac-
counted the chief house descended from

^x Dolbenman is a village in Carnarvonshire, not
far from Penmorva, the situation of which hath
been before described.

^y There is a famous salmon-leap at Aberglaslyn
in Carnarvonshire, about a mile from the mouth of
the river of that name, which divides Merioneth-
shire from that county.

Collwyn, whereof there be many of great account in that countrie.

The widdow of Robert ap Meredith married Meredd' ap Rhys ap Jevan Llwyd of Vchaf without the consent of her allie John ap Meredith, and soe was faigne to flie the day she was married to her husband's house before she dined, foure and twentie miles off, and that of rough way.

At this time, or near about it, fell a dislike and variance betweene Will' Gruffith, Esq; Chamberlaine of North Wales, and John ap Meredith, who at that time bare chief rule and credit in the quarters where he dwelled: the one by reason of his authoritie (which in those dayes was greate to them who held that roome ^z) expecting that

^z *Roome* is here used in the same sense with *place* or *office*. Thus we find in Rymer, vol. vi.

all should reverence and obey him, the other in regard of his descent, kindred and abilitie in his countrey, acknowledging none but his Prince his superior. Here-hence grew the debate,

— *nec Cæsar ferre majorem^a,
Pompeiusve parem,—*

which continued long. To John ap Meredith his kindred and friends clave like burres, foe that then it began to be a proverbe, or a phrase, to call the septe^b and family of Owen Gwynedd, *Tykoyth Sion ap Meredith*; which Eng-

p. iv. p. 69. a grant of Q. Elizabeth, anno 1559. of the office or *Roome* of reading the Civile Lectures in the university of Oxford. As also ibid. p. 154. anno 1559. of the *Roome* or office of Chief Master of our games, pastimes, and sports, ibid. p. 155. See likewise afterwards a grant to Roger Askam of the *Room* or office of Yeoman of our bears.

^a This is printed as it stands in the MS. though it may shew the author was not very accurate in his Latin prosody.

^b This word is frequently applied by Spenser, and Sir John Davis, to the Irish families and clans.

lished is “the kindred of John ap Meredith.” This beginning of division however bred in the posteritie of the two houses a conceit of dislike which continued long after in the kindred, the one towards the other, but with matches and continuance of time it is worne out.

This John ap Meredith was cosen to Owen Tudur, and went with a hundred gentlemen of North Wales his kinsmen, to visit the said Owen, being in trouble at Rwsf castle, called *Brynbyga* ^a. In his returne being beset with enemies, favourers of the house of Yorke, he made an oration to comfort his people,

^a In Sir John Price’s description of Wales prefixed to Wynne’s History, p. 20. Ufk in South Wales is said to be called likewise *Brynbyga*; *Rwsf* Castle therefore should perhaps be written *Urk* or *Wsf*, when it would signify the *Castle upon the Ufk*. As this place lies at such a distance from Gwedir, and the inhabitants of the two divisions of the Principality have so little connexion with each other even to this day, such a mistake is by no means improbable.

willing them to remember at that time the support of the honour and credit of their ancestors, and concluding, that it should never in time to come be reported, that there was the place where a hundred North Wales gentlemen fled, but that the place should carry the name and memory, that there a hundred North Wales gentlemen were slayne. Because also some of his kinsmen had brought with them all their sonnes, and some others had but one sonne to succeed in their name and inheritance, (as Howell ap Llewelyn ap Howell, and others,) he placed all these in the rearward, out of the fury of the fight, whilst all his sonnes were in the vanward, which himself led, where he was fore wounded in his face, whereof he was called Squier *y graith*^b

^b Richards, in his Welsh Dictionary, makes *Graid* synonymous with *Llofg*, which he renders *a burn*. Possibly the scar on John ap Meredith's face, arising from this wound, might look as if his face had been burned; or perhaps the wound might have been cauterized, so as to give it that appearance.

to his dying day : but God gave his enemies the overthrow, he opening the passage with his sword.

Queene Catherine, being a French woman borne, knew noe difference betweene the English and Welsh nation, untill her marriage being published, Owen Tudur's kindred and countrey were objected to disgrace him, as most vile and barbarous ; which made her desirous to see some of his kinsmen. Whereupon he brought to her presence John ap Meredith and Howell ap Llewelyn ap Howell his neare cosens, men of goodly stature and personage, but wholely destitute of bringing up and nurture, for when the Queene had spoken to them in diverse languages, and they were not able to answer her, she said, *they were the goodliest dumbe creatures that ever she saw.*

This being not impertinent to the matter I treat of, and preserved by tradition, I thought fit to insert here.

John ap Meredith had by his wife five sonnes, viz. Morris, Jevan, Robert, Owen, and Gruff', whereof Robert in his father's time was slayne without issue neare Ruthyn in the following manner. [The rest survived their father, and have many descended from them]:

The Thelwals of Ruthyn ^c being ancient gentlemen of that countrey, who came into it with the Lord Grey, on whome King Edward the First bestowed the countrey of Duffryn

^c Thelwal, who published the *Digest of Writs*, was of this family, and dates his work from his *poor house* near Ruthyn. It is about a mile from that town, on the road to *Mold* in Flintshire.

Clwyd,

Clwyd ^d, were at contention with a septe or kindred of that countrey called the family of Gruff' Goch. These being more in number than the Thelwals (although the Thelwals carried the whole offices of the countrey, under the Lord thereof, the Lord of Kent, then treasurer of England) drave the Thelwals to take to the castle of Ruthyn for their defence, where they besieged them, untill the siedege was rayfed by John ap Meredith, his sonnes, and kindred, to whome the Thelwals sent for ayde. In that exploite Robert the sonne of John ap Meredith was slayne with an arrow in a wood, within the view of the castle of Ruthyn called *Coed marcham* ^e; in revenge wherof many of the other side were slayne, both at that time and afterwards.

^d Or the *vale* of Clwyd, *Duffryn* bearing that signification in Welsh.

^e *Coed* in Welsh signifies a wood.

Some affirme John ap Meredith to have beene at a field in Penyal ^f for Tho' Gruff', which field was fought betweene Tho' Gruff' ap Nicolas and Henry ap Gwillim, and the Earle of Penbroke's captaines, where Tho' Gruff' got the field, but received there his death's wound.

Henry VII. minding on his entry into England to clayme the crown against the tyrant Richard the Third, wrote this letter, which is still extant, to John ap Meredith, in hæc verba § :

^f Pennal, the place where Tho' Gruff' ap Nicholas was wounded, is knowne by tradition; and lieth in Wttra Bennal, in the parish of Towin, over against Llidiart y parke crache, and in the midst of the way: being a little round pavement, and almost covered with grafs *.

§ Henry the Seventh, when he claimed the Crown of England against Richard the Third,

* This note was added by some person who had perused the MS. with attention.

By

By the King.

Right trusty and well-beloved, wee greete you well: and whereas it is foe, that, through the helps of almighty God, the assistance of our loveing and true subjects, and the greate confidence that wee have to the nobles and commons of this our principallitie of Wales, we be entred into the same, purposing by the helpe above rehearsed, in all haste possible, to descend into our realme of England, not only for the adoption of the crowne, unto us of right appertaining, but alsoe for the oppression of the odious tyrant Richard late Duke of Glocester, usurper of our said right; and moreover to

landed at Milford Haven, and marched from thence through South and North Wales into Leicestershire, where the battle of Bosworth was fought. He had probably been informed at Milford, that John ap Meredith had considerable influence in N. Wales.

reduce

reduce as well our said realme of England into its ancient estate, honour, and property, and prosperitie, as this our said principallitie of Wales, and the people of the same to their dearest liberties, delivering them of such miserable servitude as they have piteously long stood in. We desire and pray you, and upon your allegiance strictly charge and command you, that immediately upon the sight hereof with all such power, as ye may make, defencibly arrayed for the warre, ye addresse you towards us, without any tarrying upon the way, untill such time as ye be with us, wheresoever we shall be, to our aide, for the effect above rehearsed, wherein ye shall cause us in time to come to be your singular good Lord, and that ye faile not hereof as ye will avoyd our grievous displeasure, and answere it unto
your

your perill. Given under our signet at
our ^z, &c.

To our trustie and well-beloved
John ap Meredith ap Jevan ap
Meredith.

Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith, my ancestor, haveing, as afore is remembred, croffe married with the house of Bron y foel in Evioneth, had by his wife, called Catherine, three sonnes Meredith, Robert, and John. After her death he married Gwenhwyfar, daughter of Madog Vaughan, of the house of Llwyn Dyrys, descended of Sir Gruff' Lloyd, by whome he had two sonnes, Gruff' Vaughan and Jevan, and a daughter. Jevan died, being but one and thirtie yeares of age, of the plague at Keselgyfarch his house.

In the warrs betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, he (as all his)

^z The date, and place from which this order issued, are omitted in the MS.

were

were Lancastrians, and he was one of the captaines who laid waste the Duke of Yorke's estate in Denbigh land; in revenge whereof, the King sent Will' Herbert, Earle of Penbroke, in Edward the Fourth's time, who came with a greate army to recover the Castle of Harddlech^h, held by David ap Jevan ap Einion for Jasper Earle of Penbroke, then beyond the seas. He also wasted with fire and sword all Nanconway, and the whole countrey lying betweene Conway

^h When this town is thus spelt, it is said to signify *the beautiful or high rock* *; when in the common way [*Harlech*], it signifies *the town upon the rock*. As unfortunately the lately published Memoirs of Lord Cherbury are become excessively scarce, it may not perhaps be improper to insert from thence an anecdote relative to this siege of Harlech. The governor being summoned to surrender, sent an answer to the following effect: "That he had held out a castle in France till all the old women in Wales talked of him, and that he would defend his Welsh castle, till all the old women in France should hear of it."

* See Llwyd's Archæolog. p. 276. article *fair*.

and

and Dovi. He graunted at the same time a protection or safe conduct to Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith, and to his followers to come to parle with him, which I have to shew, under his seale of armes, in hæc verba ⁱ.

He was a most goodly man of personage, of greate stature, (as may appeare by the Welsh songes made unto

ⁱ OMNIB' &c. fidelibus ad quos p'sens scriptum p'venerit, Guilielm' Comes Pembrochiæ Justic' d'ni regis in p'tibus suis North Walliæ, salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse & p' p'sentes concessisse Jevan ap Rob't de com'oto Evioneth in Comitatu Carnarvon sal-
vum & securum conductum intrandi, veniendi, ambulandi, expectandi, com'orandi ac salvo eund' & redeundi p' & infra Comitatum de Carnarvon & Merioneth p' se, bonis, & catallis, sine aresta-
tione, molestatione, impechimento, damno, violentia, manucaptione, p'turbatione, seu gravamine aliquo tam ad sectam d'ni regis, quam ad sectam partis alterius p'sonæ cujuscumq; a die consecutionis p'sentium quousq; p' nos habuerit p'monitionem sex dierum. Datum sub sigillo nostro quarto die mensis Novembris anno regni regis Edwardi 4ti post Conquestum octavo.

him),

him), and most valiant withall. Besides the turmoyles abroad, he sustayned deadly feud (as the northerne man termeth) at home in his *doore* ^k, a warre more dangerous than the other.

His sister, having been married to Howell ap Rys, died within few years after the marriage, leaveing noe issue male : and Howell ap Rys married Tudur ap Gruff' ap Einion's daughter of Ardydwy, a courageous stirring woman, who never gave over to make debate betweene her husband and his next neighbour and brother-in-law, my ancestor. Many bickerings passed betweene them, either making as many friends as he could, and many men were slayne, but commonly the losse fell on Howell ap Rys his side.

David ap Jenkin being a neare kinsman to Howell ap Rhys, and then an

^k A mode of expression which seems to explain itself.

outlaw,

outlaw, a man of greate valour came to aide his cofen againſt my ancestor, but prevailed not, though they came upon the fuddaine on my ancestor's house, and whilst he was from home. Thereupon (as we have it by credible tradition) David ap Jenkin wished his cofen to keepe friendship with his brother-in-law, for, said he, I will not come with thee to invade this man's house when he is at home, since I finde such hot resistance in his absence.

This woman caused the parson of Llanwrothen¹ to be murthered, because he had fostered^m to my ancestor; but

¹ Lanwrothen is a parish in Merionethshire, which borders upon Traethmawr sands.

^m The strong connexion and affection between the Foster-father and son seems to be now much dropped in Wales: it continues however in full force in the uncivilized parts of Ireland.

God

God so wrought, that the murtherers, being three brethren, were all slayne afterwards by my ancestor, in revenge of the parson's unworthy death.

I have a number of obligations wherein Howell ap Rys standeth bounden for the observation of the peace, and afterwards touching that controversie ; but the plague taking away my ancestor, ended the strife betweene them, which was likely (if he had lived) to have ended with the death of one of them or both. Soe bloody and irefull were quarells in those dayes, and the revenge of the sword at such libertie, as almost nothing was punished by law, whatsoever happened.

The cause of this mortal hatred betweene them grew (as it is credibly reported) in this sorte : John ap Meredith

dith and Howell ap Rys were ever highly at variance; my ancestor having had bringing up with his cosen John ap Meredith, affected him best, though allied nearly to the other, which was taken foe heinously by Howell ap Rhys, that he converted the sume of his rancor upon his brother-in-law and next neighbour. This quarell, my ancestor being dead, never ended till, in assaulting the house of the said Howell, by the sonnes of John ap Meredith with their cosen Gruffith ap John ap Gronw (a gentleman of great account, who had been captaine, as is reported, of a company of launfiers in Aquitane): the said Gruffith ap John ap Gronw was slayne, being shot into the beaver with an arrow out of the house, whereupon the said Howell was faine to leave the

G countrey

countrey to avoyd the furie of the revengment of blood.

In the partition of the inheritance of Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith betweene his five sonnes, according to the custome of Wales ; Henblas in Maethbrood and all the land in Llanrwlst in Denbigh land descending unto him, (as afore is mentioned, as cosen and next heire to Robin Vaughan ap David ap Howell ap Gruff'), fell to be the parte and portion of Gruff' Vaughan his sonne, who married the daughter of Gruff' ap Madog Vaughan, who was grandchild to Rees ap Einion Vaughan, viz. his daughter's daughter. You are to understand, that though Robin Vaughan did not defeat his cosen and next heire Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith of the land held in the Welsh tenure, yet minding the preferment of his daughter, as much as law

law would suffer him, he charged the land with a mortgage of 12 li. to Rys ap Einion Vaughan his sonne-in-law, which the said Rys ap Einion Vaughan did release to Gruff' ap Jevan ap Robert in parte of his mariage goods with his cosen, the daughter of Owen ap Gruff' ap Madog: the very release I have in my custody.

God hath shewed such mercy to our kinde, that ever since the time of Rodericke the sonne of Owen Gwynedd, Lord of Anglesey, our common ancestors, there lived in the commonwealth in eminent sorte one or other of our name, and many together at times. I have in my minde, in the perusal of the whole course of the history of our name and kindred, compared or likened God's worke in that to a man striking fire into a tinder-box, by the beating of the

flint upon the Steele there are a number of sparkles of fire rayfed, whereof but one or two takes fire, the rest vanishing away. As for example, in Einion ap Cariadog, Gruff' ap Cariadog, and Sir Will' Cariadog alias Willcocke Caria-dog, bretheren ; Einion ap Cariadog as should fecme the elder brother, was Lord of Penychen, Penyberth, and Baladevlyn. His sonne, Tudur ap Einion, died without issue of his body, and his lands were begged by the Queene, King Edward the First his wife, as appeareth in this history. Gruffith, the second brother, was Lord of Friwlwyd, Ystrad, and Elkibion ; he had issue David, which David had three sonnes ; David Chwith ap David, Meredith, and Howell ; which are mentioned before to have exchanged their estate at Denbigh with Henry Lacie, earle of Lincolne. Will' alias Wilcocke Craidog, the third brother, married an inheretrix in Penbrokeeshire,

where his posteritie have remained ever since, haveing, from the house called Newton, named themselves Newton Craidog, both in Pembrokeshire and Somersetsshire. Some of the Newtons claim their lineal descent from Howell ap Gronw, Lord of Ystradtowin, año Dñi 1100, descended from Rytherch ap Jestin, Prince of Wales. Note, among these three bretheren, the posteritie of the one remains ; of the other two, the one is vanished, and the other gone out of the countrey. Of Gruffith his grandchildren, only the posteritie of Howell are extant, who was before stated to be the youngest of the three sons of Gruffith Lord of Friwlwyd. Lastly, in Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith his children, which were five, only the posteritie of Meredith are extant, and of account. Whereupon comparing things past with things to come, I presage God's mer-

cy to the kindred hereafter, as heretofore.

Now after this large digression, to returne to the course of this former historie, Rys ap Einion Vaughan having had warning, as aforesaid, that Henblas^m should be redeemed, hasted to build Brynfullty, before that Michaelmas appointed. I have seene an old man in my time called Jevan ap John ap David Vaughan, at least of ninety years old; this man's mother served Rys ap Eingan Vaughan at that time, and she was wont to reporte, that corne fayling them to *build*ⁿ the house, they reaped the corne that grew in the

^m *Henblas*, as well as Brynfullty, is afterwards described, as being in the Lordship of Denbigh. It is supposed that *Henblas* is the same with *Plasbén*, or *The old mansion*.

ⁿ That is, to thatch it.

raine

raine ° to serve that turne, as the corne in the ridge was not readie.

The warrs of Lancaster and Yorke beginning this summer, made Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith forgetfull of his promise to redeeme the lands; for in the time of that civill warre land was not ought worth, neither was it redeemed during his life. In those warrs Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith, even in the sixth of Edward the Fourth, with David ap Jenkin and other captaines of the Lancastrian faction, wasted with fire and sword the suburbs of the town of Denbigh. In revenge of this, Edward the Fourth sent William Earle of Penbroke with a great army to waste the mountaine countreys of Carnarvon and Merioneth shires, and take the castle of Hardlech (held then by David ap Jevan ap Einion, for the two Earles Henry

° *Raine*, in some parts of England, is used for *furrow*, or the lower part of the ridge.

Earle of Richmond, and Jasper Earle of
Pembroke) which Earle did execute his
chardges to the full, as witneffeth this
Welsh rime.

Hardlech a Dinbech pob dor
Yn Cunnev,
Nanconway yn farwor,
Mil a phedwarcant mae Jor
A thrugain ag wyth rhagor °.

• “ At Harddlech and Denbigh every house was
“ in flames, and Nantconway in cinders; 1400
“ from our Lord, and sixty and eight more.” —
This translation was made by a learned Divine,
well known in the literary world for several publi-
cations.* He was also so obliging as to add the
following metrical version in the stile of Sternhold
and Hopkins:

“ In Harddlech and Dinbech ev’ry house
“ Was basely fet on fire,
“ But poor Nantconway suffer’d more,
“ For there the flames burnt higher;
“ ’Twas in the year of our Lord
“ Fourteen hundred sixty-eight,
“ That these unhappy towns of Wales
“ Met with such wretched fate.”

In

** Dr Percy.*

In that expedition Jevan ap Robert lay one night at the house of Rhys ap Einion at Henblas, who was married to his cosen Catherine daughter of Vaughan; and setting forth very early before day unwittingly carried upon his finger the wrest^p of his cosen's harpe, whereon (as it seemeth) he had played over night, as the manner was in those days, to bring himselfe asleepe^q. This he returned by a messenger unto his cosen, with this message withall, that he came not into Denbigh land to take from his cosen as much as the wrest of her harpe: whereby it appeareth, that by his means neither her house, nor any of her goods were burnt, wasted, hurt, or

^p The wrest of a harp is the hollow iron with which the strings are tuned, by lengthening or contracting them; this term is still used by the harpsichord tuners for an instrument which they use for the same purpose.

^q The oldest Welsh tunes are very plaintive.

spoyled;

spoyled. Thus both her houses, Henblas and Brinsyllty, escaped the Earle Herbert's desolation, though the same consumed the whole burrough of Llanrwst, and all the vale of Conway besides, to *cold coals*^r, whereof the print is yet extant, the very stones of the ruines of manie habitations, in and along my demaynes, carrying yet the colour of the fire. John ap Meredith being cosen german's sonne to Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith, notwithstanding he was soe much elder than he, (as the one was in mans estate, and the other but a youth), had the government of his uncle and of his *living*^s: during which time of his nonage, Robin Vaughan ap David ap Howell dying, as aforesaid, John ap Meredith came over with his uncle to Llanrwst and the Lordship of Denbigh, to take pos-

^r i. e. To cinders: the author hath before used *cold ashes* in the same sense.

^s *Livinge* hath before been used by the author in the same sense with *estate*.

feſſion of the inheritance lately befallen
 him, called the Henblas in Maethbrood,
 where Rys ap Einion Vaughan and Ca-
 therine daughter of Robin Vaughan
 then dwelled. Haveing ſurveyed the
 land, they gave Rys ap Einion Vaughan
 then warning that he ſhould avoyd the
 land at Michaelmas, for then he ſhould
 have the twelve pounds mortgage money
 payed him. On this he requested to be te-
 nant, and was answered by Jevan ap Ro-
 bert ap Meredith, that he ſhould lie there
 at times himſelfe, and therefore would
 not ſett it. Whereupon Rys ap Einion
 Vaughan built Brynfullty houſe, upon
 parte of that land which Henry Lacie,
 Earle of Lincolne, Lord of Denbigh,
 exchanged with our anceſtors, and
 which he had bought of ſome of our
 kinfmen that had the ſame by gavel-
 kind. Their name, however, is for-
 gotten, as is the pedegree of two other
 freeholders in Maethebrood beſides,
 which

which held land in my time in that towne, lineallie from that grant and exchange. The one was called Rys ap Llewelyn ap David, whose posteritie doth yet inherite parte of this land: the other the wife of one Lancelott a weaver, whose inheritance my uncle, Gruff' Wynne^s, bought, being but a matter of three pounds a-yeare. Into foe little partes did the gavelkind by many descents chop our inheritance, being at first large. Conferring oft with the freeholders of the parish of Llanrwlst, my neighbours, how they held their lands, and from what common ancestor they were descended; most of them are said to be descended lineallie from Ednyfed Vaughan, in the township of Tybrith and Garthgarmon. Inquireing also of them

^s Of Berddu. See the pedigree at the end of the MS. Berddu is in Llanrwlst parish.

whence

whence the freeholders of Maethebrood (Rys Llyn ap David, and Lancellott's wife) were descended, they said they were foreigners, and came from the castle of Denbigh, as though the castle of Denbigh did procreate men: which sheweth that the tradition is not yet forgotten, from whence they came. The most parte of that towne of Maethebrood is in our blood, blessed be God.

Robin Jachwr, the greatest antiquarie of our countrey, being at Gwedir with my grandfather, and going one day to a *chwarevfa gampau*^t, where the countrey was assembled at a place called Gardd y felin in the parish of Llanrwst, asked whether he would command him any service thither. Nothing, said my grandfather, haveing a nosegay in his hand by

^t *Chwarevfa gampau*. Country games or exercises.

chance,

chance, but deliver this nosegay to the best gentleman thou seest in the company, upon the credit of thy skill; who delivered the same with protestation of his charge in the presence of all the company to Llyn ap David, Rys Llyn ap David's father. I cannot however get his pedigree, nor Lancelot's wife's pedigree in any certaintie, to joyne them to ours: the reason is, that poverty soone forgets whence it be descended, for it is an ancient received saying, that there is noe poverty but is descended of nobilitie, nor noe nobilitie but is descended of beggerie.

When Adam delv'd and Eva span,
 Who was then a gentleman?
 Then came the churle and gathered
 good,
 And thence arose the gentle bloud.

Yet

Yet a great temporall blessing it is, and a greate heart's ease to a man to find that he is well descended, and a great griefe it is for upstarts and gentlemen of the first head to looke backe unto their descents being base, in such sort, as I have knowne many such hate gentlemen in their hearts, for noe other cause, but that they were gentlemen. The conditional promise by God to David was, "that if his children would keepe his laws, he should not want a man of his loynes to sit on his seat for evermore." Whereby he had two things promised him, propagation of his seed, and eminence of continuance in the world. The Recabites, for their obedience to their father's commandment, not to drinke wine, have the like promise of God^u.

^u See Jeremiah, ch. xxxv.

During

During the time the Earle of Pembroke's armie lay in Snowdon, Jevan ap Robert was faine to leave his owne house, and lodge at night in the rocke called Ogo filen, standing at Meillionen, in the parish of Bethkelert, and continued all the next day with the Lancastrians. His friends and followers skirted the armie, and skirmished with them in the strait and rough passage of Nantwhynen*, untill at last he was sent for by the Earle under his protection and received into grace, as may appeare by the Earle's deed under his hand and seale; the like he did not graunt to any in North Wales, as farre as I can heare.

The begining of the quarell and unkindness between Jevan ap Robert and Howell ap Rys ap Howell Vaughan grew in this sort. Jevan ap Robert,

* *Nantwhynen* lies within a small distance of Bethskelert. The rough and strait passage, mentioned by the author, soon opens into a most picturesque valley.

after

after his sister's death, upon some mislike, left the company of Howel ap Rys, and accompanied John ap Meredith his nephew, and his children, who were at continuall bate with Howell ap Rys. The fashion was, in those days, that the gentlemen and their retainers met commonly every day to shoote matches and masteries: there was noe gentleman of worth in the countrey, but had a wine cellar of his owne, which wine was sold to his profit: thither came his friends to meete him, and there spent the day in shooting, wrestling, throwing the sledge, and other actes of activitie, and drinking very moderately withall, not according to the *healthing* *, and gluttonous manner of our dayes.

Howell ap Rys ap Howell *did draw a draught* † upon Jevan ap Robert ap

* i. e. *Drinking of healths.*

† This is a phrase frequently used by the author, and imports *drawing a plan, or settling a scheme.*

Meredith, and sent a brother of his to lodge over night at Keselgyfarch, to understand which way Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith meant to goe the next day, who was determined to shoote a match with John ap Meredith's children at Llanvihangel y Pennant ^y, not farre from John ap Meredith's house. This being understood, the spie, Howell ap Rees, his brother, slips away in the night to his brother, and lets him knowe where he should lay for him. Now had Howell ap Rys provided a butcher for the purpose, that should have murdered him; for he had direction by Howell to keepe himselfe free, and not to undertake any of the company untill he saw them in a medley, and every man fighting. Then was his charge to come behinde the

^y This parish is very near to Bethhelert. All this part of the country is very mountainous, and therefore very proper for ambuscades.

tallest

tallest man in the company (for otherwise he knew him not, being a stranger), and to knocke him down; for Howell ap Rys sayd; "Thou shalt soone discerne
 " him from the rest by his stature, and he
 " will make way before him. There is a
 " foster-brother of his, one Robin ap
 " Inko, a little fellow, that useth to match
 " him behind: take heed of him; for, be
 " the encountre never soe hot, his eye is
 " ever on his foster-brother." Jevan ap Robert, according as he was appointed, went that morning with his ordinary company towards Llanvihangel to meete John ap Meredith. You are to understand, that in those dayes, and in that wild worlde, every man stood upon his guard, and went not abroad but in fort and soe armed, as if he went to the field to encountre with his enemies. Howell ap Rys ap Howell Vaughan's sister being Jevan ap Robert's wife, went a mile,

or thereabout, with her husband and the company, talking with them, and foe parted with them; and in her way homewards, she met her brother a-horse-back, with a great company of people armed, rideing after her husband, as fast as they could. On this she cried out upon her brother, and desired him, for the love of God, not to harne her husband, that meant him noe harne; and withall steps to his horse, meaning to have caught him by the bridle, which he seeing, turned his horse about. She then caught the horse by the tail, hanging upon him foe long, and crying upon her brother, that, in the end, he drew out his short-sword, and struck at her arme. Which she perceiving, was faine to lett flippe her hold, and running before him to a narrow passage, whereby he must pass through a brooke, where there was a foot-bridge near the ford; she then steps to the foot-bridge, and takes away the

canlaw

canlaw ^z or handstay of the bridge, and with the same letts flie at her brother, and, if he had not avoyded the blow, she had strucke him downe from his horse.

—*Furor arma ministrat.*

Howell ap Rys and his company, within a while, overtooke Jevan ap Robert and his followers, who turned head upon him, though greatlie overmatched. The bickering grew very hott, and many were knocked downe of either side. In the end, when that should be performed which they came for, the murthering butcher haveing not strucke one stroake all day, but watching opportunity, and finding the company more scattered than at first from Jevan ap Robert, thrust himselfe among Jevan ap Robert's people behind, and, makeing a blow at him,

^z Richards, in his Dictionary, renders this word accordingly a long rail used as a side fence to a bridge. It also signifies a *counsellor* or *attorney*.

was prevented by Robin ap Inko his foster-brother, and knocked downe; God bringing upon his head the destruction that he meant for another: which Howell ap Rys perceiving, cryed to his people, "Let us away and be gone, for "I had given chardge that Robin ap "Inko should have been better looked "unto:" and foe that bickering brake with the hurt of many, and the death of that one man.

It fortun'd anon after, that the parson of Llanvrothen ^a tooke a child of Jevan ap Robert's to foster, which foregrieved Howell ap Rys ap Howell Vaughan's wife, her husband haveing then more land in that parish than Jevan ap Robert had; in revenge whereof she plotted the death of the said parson in this manner. She sent a woman to aske lodgeing of the parson (who used

^a Llanvrothen is a small village in Merionethshire, situated near Traethmawr sands.

not to deny any). The woman being in bed, after midnight began to strike and to rave; whereupon the parson, thinking that she had beene distracted, awakening out of his sleepe, and wondering at soe suddaine a crie in the night, made towards her and his household also; then she said that he would have ravished her, and soe got out of doores, threatening revenge to the parson. This woman had to her bretheren three notable rogues of the damn'd crew, fit for any mischiefe, being followers of Howell ap Rys. In a morning these bretheren watched the parson, as he went to looke to his cattle, in a place in that parish called Gogo yr Llechwin, being now a tenement of mine, and there murdered him; and two of them fled to Chirke-land in Denbighshire, to some of the Trevor's friends, or of a kinne to Howell ap Rys, or his wife. It was the manner

in those dayes, that the murtherer onely, and he that gave the death's wound should flye, which was called in Welsh a *llawrudd*, which is a *red hand*, because he had blooded his hand : the accessories and abettors to the murtherers were never hearkened after.

In those dayes, in Chirkeland and Oswaldstreland ^b, two sects or kindred contended for the soveraignty of the countrie, and were at continuall strife one with another: the Kyffins and Trevors. They had their alliance, partisans, and friends in all the countreys round thereabouts, to whome, as the manner of the time was, they sent such of their followers as committed murther or manslaughter, which were safely kept as very precious jewells; and they received the like from their friends. These kind of people were stowed in the day time in cham-

^b Now called *Oswestry* : it adjoins to Chirkeland, where the Trevors continue still to be a very considerable family.

bers

bers in their houses, and in the night they went to the next wine-house that belonged to the gentleman, or to his tenants houses not farre off, to make merrie and to wench. Meredith ap Howell ap Moris, in those days chief and leader of the sect of the Kyffins, was a kinne to Jevan ap Robert, and in league with him, to whome he sent to desire him, to draw him a draught to catch those murtherers; who sent him word, that he should come privately into Chirkeland only accompanied but with six, and he made noe doubt to deliver the murtherers into his hands. As Jevan ap Robert was in his way goeing thither, passing by Ty yn Rhos ^a, being a wine-house, standing in Penrhyn Deydraeth, Howell ap Rys ap Howell Vychan's wife, being in the house, said to the

^a *Ty yn Rhos*, signifies the house in the rough common.

people that were with her, Yonder goeth Jevan ap Robert, *Hwyr y dial ef ei dadmaeth*, which is as much as to say, “that he would not in haste be revenged of the wronge done to his foster.” Being come to Chirkeland, he abode there many dayes in secret and unscene, sleeping in the day, and watching all night. In the end, with the helpe of his friends, he caught the two murtherers, whom he had no sooner in hand, but the crie did rise, *The Trevors to their friends, and the Kyffins to their leaders*. To the latter of these cries Meredith ap Howell ap Moris resorted, who told Jevan ap Robert that it was impossible for him to carry them out of the countrey to any place to have judiciall proceeding against them, by reason that the faction of the Trevors would lay the way and narrow passages of the countrie; and if they were brought to Chirke

5

castle

castle gate to receive the triall of the countrie lawes, it was lawfull for the offender's friends whosoever they were to bring 5 li. for every man for a fine to the Lord, and to acquit them, soe it were not in cases of treason. A damnable custome used in those dayes in the lordships marches, which was used alsoe in Mowddwy^b, untill the new Ordinance of Wales, made in the seven and twentieth yeare of Henry VIII. Hereupon Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith commanded one of his men to strike off their heads, which the fellow doeing faintely, the offender told him, that if he had his necke under his sword, he would make his sword take better edge than he did: soe resolute were they in those dayes, and in contempt of death; whereupon Jevan ap

^b Mowddwy is by that statute of Henry the Eighth now annexed to Merionethshire, whereas it was before part of Montgomeryshire.

Robert

Robert in a rage stepping to them, strucke off their heads.

David Llwyd ap Gruffith Vychan, grandchild to Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith, in his youth waited upon Hugh, sonne to Mr. Robert ap Rys at Cambridge, elected Abbot of Conway by his father's procurement in his minoritie. He being at Plas Jolyn^c, at the house of Mr. Robert ap Rys, an old woman that dwelt there in Rys ap Meredith's time, told him that she had seene his grandfather Jevan ap Robert at that house, both in goeing and comeing from his voyage into Chirkeland, and that he was the tallest and goodliest man that ever she had seene: for, sitting at the fire, upon the

^c Plas Jolyn is in Denbighshire, not far from Gêlar and Voelas: it now belongs to Mr. Myddleton of Chirk Castle.

spûr^d, the hinder parte of his head was to be seene over the spûr, which she never saw to any other man. She alsoe said that in his returne from Chirkeland she saw Lowry, daughter of Howell, Rys ap Meredith's wife, his kinswoman wash his eyes with white-wine, being bloud-shot by long watching^e.

Jevan ap Robert in his returne from Chirkeland, riding home to his house by Gallt y Morfa hir by moonshine (the tide in Traeth mawr^f giving him noe

^d Spûr (or as it should seem to have been pronounced by the author *Spere*) certainly means that seat near a kitchen or hall fire, which generally goes by the name of a *Settle*. It is not very obvious however whence such a seat should have obtained the name of *Spûr* or *Spere*.

^e It is supposed that this circumstance is mentioned by the author, to prove that Jevan ap Robert was not only stout but brave, and that he watched to prevent being surprized by his enemies.

^f Traeth Mawr signifies the *greater* tract of sand, to distinguish it from the *lesser*, which is the road
fooner

sooner passage) talking with his men carelessly, and out of danger, as he imagined, suddenly lighted an arrow shot amongst them from the hill side, which was then full of wood. On this they made a stand, and shot wholly all seven towards the place from whence the other arrow came, with one of which arrowes of theirs shot foe at randome they killed him that shot at them, being the third brother of the murtherers; God revenging that wicked murther by the death of one of the three bretheren. Howell ap Rys ap Howell Vaughan, and especially his wife, boyl- ing in revenge, drew another draught against Jevan ap Robert, in this manner. Jevan ap Robert's mother was of the

from Penmorva in Carnarvonshire to Harlech in Merionethshire. These sands are not commonly passable till the tide hath ebbed nearly three hours.

houfe

house of Kefnmelgoed, in the countie of Cardigan, whose mother was sister to Rytherch ap Jevan Llwyd, then and yet the greatest family in that countie. It hath before been mentioned to have been customary in Chirkelande and other parts of Wales, for the *Llawrudds* ² to resort to the most powerfull of the gentry, where they were kept very choisely. Howell ap Rys understanding that Jevan ap Robert and his people had occasion to goe to Carnarvon to the assises, thought it fit time by force to enter on his house; and to apprehend all those, and to bring them to Carnarvon to be hanged; for there was none of them but was outlawed of mur-

² The signification of the word *Llawrudd* hath before been explained by the author, and to import a *red* or *bloody hand*, or the murderer who had given the blow.

ther.

ther. To this end, to strengthen himselfe in this purpose, he sent for his trustiest friends about him, and among the rest procured David ap Jenkin his cosen german, then a famous outlaw in the rocke of Carreg y Walch ^g, with his crew and followers to assist him, and suddenly came in a morning to the hall of Jevan ap Robert's house, where they were in out-houses about, and stowed in upper chambers in the lower end of the hall, and none to be seene. These people of Jevan ap Robert's that were in the hall rayfed a crie, and betooke themselves to their weapons; whereupon the out-lawes awaked, and betooke themselves alsoe to their weapons, and bestirred themselves handsomely. It happened the same time that Jevan ap Robert's

^g There is rock on the road from Shrewsbury to Oswestry, which is to this day called *Kynaston's Cave*, from its having been a receptacle to some robbers of that name.

wife stood at the fire side, lookeing on her mayd boyling of worte to make metheglyn, which seething worte was bestowed liberally among the assailants, and did helpe the defendants to thrust backe them that were entered, and afterwards to defend the house. The house was assalted with all force, and pierced in diverse places, and was well defended by those that were within; for having made diverse breaches, they durst not enter, few resolute men being able to make a breach good against many. Upon this the crie of the countrie did rise, and Jevan ap Robert's tenants and friends assembled in greate numbers, (whereof Robin ap Inko was captaine), who fought with the besiegers, and in the end with their arrows did drive the besiegers from the one side of the house, who continually assaulted the other side. After they had continued all that day

I

and

and all that night in that manner, the next morning, seeing they could prevail little to enter the house, they came to a parly with Robin ap Inko, who advised them to be gone in time: "For," said he, "as soon as the water of Traeth " mawr will give leave, Jevan Krach, my " master's kinsman, will be here with " Ardydwy men, and then you shall be " all slaine." (This Jevan Krach was a man of greate account in those dayes, in Ardydwy^h, and dwelt at Kelli lydan, in the parish of Mantwrog). Whereupon they gave over their enterprife, and returned to Bron y foel, to Howell ap Rys ap Howell Vaughan his house, where David ap Jenkin advised his co-

z. Ardydwy is a district in the north-western part of Merionethshire. Mantwrog is also a parish of the same county, not far distant from Ardydwy: it adjoins to Llanwrothen, the parson of which the author hath before had occasion to mention.

fen Howell ap Rys to take Jevan ap Robert for his brother-in-law, neighbour, and friend: "For," said he, "I will not be one with you to assault his house when he is at home, seeing I find such hot resistance in his absence."

Dayly bickerings, too long to be written, passed between foe neare and hatefull neighbours. In the end the plague, which commonly followeth warre and desolation, after the Earle of Pembroke's expedition, tooke away Jevan ap Robert, at his house in Kefelgyfarch, in the flower of his age, being thirty-one years of age; whose death ended the strife of those houses; for his three eldest sonnes were sisters sonnes to Howell ap Rys ap Howell Vaughan.

Enmitie did continue betweene Howell ap Rys ap Howell Vaughan, and the sonnes of John ap Meredith. After the death of Evan ap Robert, Gruffith ap John ap Gronw, (cozen german to John ap Meredith's sonnes of Gwynfryn, who had long served in France and had charge there), comeing home to live in the countrey, it happened that a servant of his comeing to fish in Stymllynⁱ, his fish was taken away, and the fellow beaten by Howell ap Rys his servants, and by his commandment. Gruffith ap John ap Gronw tooke the matter in such dudgeon, that he challenged Howell ap Rys to the field; which he refusing, assembling his cofens John ap Mere-

ⁱ Stymllyn is on the Carnarvonshire coast, not far from Creckieth. There is a pretty large pool of water near the sea, where there are some good trouts, and in which this fishing probably happened.

dith's sonnes and his friends together, assaulted Howell in his owne house, after the manner he had seene in the French warres, and consumed with fire his barnes and his out-houses. Whilst he was afterwards assaulting the hall, which Howell ap Rys and many other people kept, being a very strong house, he was shot out of a crevise of the house, through the sight of his beaver, into the head, and slayne out-right, being otherwise armed at all points. Notwithstanding his death, the assault of the house was continued with great vehemence, the doores fired with great burthens of straw, besides this, the smoake of the out-houses and barnes not farre distant, annoyed greatly the defendants, soe that most of them lay under boordes and benches upon the floore in the hall, the better to avoyd the smoake. During this scene of confusion, onely the old man Howell ap Rys never stooped, but stood valiantly

in the midst of the floore, armed with a *gleve*ⁱ in his hand, and called unto them and bid them “ arise like men, for “ shame, for he had knowne there as “ greate a smoake in that hall upon a “ Christmas even.” In the end, seeing the house could noe longer defend them, being overlayed with a multitude, upon parley betweene them, Howell ap Rys was content to yeald himselfe prisoner to Morris ap John ap Meredith, John ap Meredith’s eldest sonne, foe as he would sweare unto him to bring him safe to Carnarvon castle, to abide the triall of the law, for the death of Gruff’ ap John ap Gronw, who was cosen german removed to the said Howell ap Rys and of the very same house he was of. Which Morris ap John ap Meredith undertakeing, did put a guard about the said Howell of his trustiest friends and servants, who kept and defended him

ⁱ *Gleve* signifies a sword, from the French *Glaiue*.
from

from the rage of the kindred, and especially of Owen ap John ap Meredith his brother, who was very eager against him. They passed by leisure thence, *like a campe*^k, to Carnarvon; the whole countrie being assembled, Howell his friends posted a horse backe from one place or other by the way, who brought word that he was come thither safe, for they were in great fear lest he should be murdered, and that Morris ap John ap Meredith could not be able to defend him, neither durst any of Howell's friends be there for feare of the kindred. In the end, being delivered by Morris ap John ap Meredith to the constable of Carnarvon castle, and there kept safely in ward untill the assises; it fell out by law, that the burning of Howell's houses and assaulting him in his owne house, was a more haynous offence in Morris ap John ap Meredith

^k *i. e.* Like an army which makes regular encampments during their march.

and the rest, than the death of Gruff^s ap John ap Gronw in Howell ap Rys, who did it in his owne defence; whereupon Morris ap John ap Meredith, with thirty-five more, were indicted of felonie, as appeareth by the copie of the indictment, which I had from the records.

Howell, delivered out of prison, never durst come to his owne house in Evioneth, but came to Penmachno ^k to his mother's kindred, Rys Gethin's sonnes, and there died. It is a note worthy observation that the house by little and little decayed ever since, neither hath any of his posterity beene buried in his owne sepulchre, being four descents besides himselfe.

Rys ap Howell ap Rys his sonne, co-fen german to my greate grandfather,

^k Penmachno is a small village in Carnarvonshire, on the road between Llanrwst and Festiniog.
Meredith,

Meredith ap Jevan ap Robert, married to his first wife, an inheretrix of the Tre-vors, by whome he had greate possessions in Hopeſland ^l. He afterwards by the procurement of my greate grandfather, married Margaret, daughter to Hugh Conwey the elder, Reinalt ap Meiricke's widdow, his next neighbour in Gwedir, and was overſeere of his workes when he built Gwedir houſe, as William David ap Ellis Eytyn his coſen, who lived with him then in thoſe dayes, told me. He was buried on the right ſide in the chancel in Llanrwlſt ; and was taken up at the burying of Cadwalader ap Robert Wynne of Havod y maidd ^m,

^l There is a village in Cherbury hundred, Shropſhire, which is called *Hope* ; it is rather ſuſpected, however, that the place alluded to is *Holt*, which is ſituated on the Welſh ſide of the Dee, ſeven or eight miles higher than Cheſter.

^m Havod y maidd is a farm in Denbighſhire, not far from Caerydryidion, it ſignifies the *wey* farm.

as my uncle Owen Wynne guessed by the greatness of the fame.

Thomas ap Rys ap Howell sold all his mother's lands and *liveing* ^a in Hopefand, and a great part of his owne, and was buried in Hopefdale.

Cadwalader ap Thomas, his sonne and heire, lying at Chester, died there.

Ellis ap Cadwalader, (who had married my cosen german, my uncle Owen Wynne's daughter), my kind cosen and friend, a man endued with many good parts, being sicke of an impostume, went to one Dr. Davies neare Brecknock, and there died. This man's name I am bound to make an honourable mention of, for diverse kindneses he shewed unto me, and especially for the wise advice and counsell he was wont to give me.

^a This word hath before been explained.

Among many, one especially is by me and my posterity to be remembred, which I doe thinke worthy to be recorded in writeing. Unkindnes and variance befalling betweene myselfe and my uncle Owen Wynne, being neighbours, for wayes crosse my ground for the carrying of his hay from the King's meadow in Trefriw to his house at Caermelwr, I grew to a great heat, and said that he should not passe that way without the losse of mens lives. Whereupon, he being present, and wishing well unto us both, reprov'd me sharply, wishing me to follow the course of my ancestors, who with wisdome, unanimity, and temperance, from time to time, had raised their fortunes, assuring me his ancestors might be an example unto me of the contrary, who with headiness and rashness did diminish and impaire their estates from time to time. Which counsel

fel of his tooke deepe roote in me ever after, and, to my great good, I bridled my choller, whereunto I was much subject.

Owen Ellis, the sonne of Ellis Cadwalader, died by a fall from his horse goeing home from Crikeith in the night, haveing beene there all the day drinking.

Ellis Ellis, his sonne, fell mad and continued soe a long time, and at length *in that case*^m died.

Owen Ellis, his sonne, being a young man, newly married, goeing home in the night betweene Nanhoren and Vaerdre in Llûnⁿ, where his wife lived, haveing

^m This is a singular method of expressing himself, which the author frequently uses.

ⁿ Llûn is the S. Western peninsula of Carnarvonshire.

by her one daughter, and leaveing her greate with child, (which after proved to be a sonne), by a fall from his horse, upon the way, died.

These three were buried in their owne sepulchres in the Church of St. Katherine's in Crikeith, after this booke was by the author written.

It may be a question here and a doubt to the reader wherefore the land of Robin Vaughan ap David ap Howell should descend to Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith, his cofen and next heire, he haveing a daughter and heire of his owne body lawfully begotten? To answere this question, you are to understand that Henry Lacie, Earle of Lincolne, upon the conquest of Wales, haveing received of Edward the First his gift the countries of Ros and Rovoniog, now Den-
bigh

high land, and planted the same with diverse Englishmen, who held their lands, as well as their posteritie, by the English tenure; the rest of the Welshmen, loaded with many bad customes, held their lands in the Welsh tenure. One condition thereof was, that the inheritance should not descend to daughters, but should goe to the heire male of the house, if there were any such within their degrees to the dead man, and if not, that it should escheate to the Lord of the soyle; yet in respect of the possibilitie of issue male, which the owner of the land might have while he was alive, the custome of the countrie did permit him to mortgage the land to serve his need, without the Lord's leave. You see hereby that Robin Vaughan did what he could, according to the custome of the countrie, towards the preferment of his daughter, and the reason why Jevan
ap

ap Robert ap Meredith, his next kinfman and heire, had the lands. Which proveth alsoe that Robert ap Meredith was eldest brother to Jevan ap Meredith, John ap Meredith his grand father, which his posteritie greatly gainfaid; for if Jevan ap Meredith had been elder brother, then John ap Meredith should have inherited this land, and not Jevan ap Robert his father's cosen. Meredith, sonne to Jevan ap Robert his eldest sonne, in the time of his father, was taken to nurse by an honest freeholder in the hundred of Yfcorum Isgurvai °, who was owner of the Criege in Llanvaire, and the best man in the parish, and having noe children of his owne, gave his inheritance to his foster child. Creige standeth some sixteen miles from Keselgyfarch, whereby it may appeare how desirous men were in those dayes to have a patron that could defend them

° In Carnarvonshire.

from

from wrong, though they fought him never soe far off. Criege standeth betweene Carnarvon and Bangor, two miles off from Carnarvon. In those days Carnarvon flourished as well by trade of merchandise as alsoe for that the King's exchequer, chauncery, and common law courts for all North Wales were there continually residing, whilst the way to London and the marches was little frequented. By this, civility and learning flourished in that towne, soe as they were called, *the lawyers of Carnarvon, the merchands of Beaumarres, and the gentlemen of Conway*. I heard diverse of judgement, and learned in the lawes, to report that the records of the King's Courtes, kept in Carnarvon in those dayes, were as orderly and formally kept as those in Westminster. Thither did his foster father send my greate grandfather to school, where he learned the English tongue,

tongue, to read, to write, and to un-
 stand Latine, a matter of great moment
 in those dayes. For his other brethren
 losing their father young, and nursed
 in Evioneth, neare their father's house,
 wanted all this; foe as to the honest
 man, his foster and second father, (for
 he gave him with breeding alsoe his in-
 heritance) may be attributed his good
 fortune (God's providence always ex-
 cepted) which sometymes worketh by
 secondary meanes, whereof this man was
 the instrument, haveing lived there till
 the age of twenty yeares, or thereabouts.
 His foster father being dead, he fell in
 liking with a young woman in that towne,
 who was daughter-in-law to one Spicer,
 the reputed daughter of William Gruf-
 fith ap Robin, sheriffe of the county of
 Carnarvon. This Spicer was a landed
 man of 50 li. per annum, which de-
 scended to him from his ancestors,
 yet had an office in the Exchequer°,

° The author means the Exchequer for the Prin-
 cipality, then kept at Carnarvon.

and dealt with trade of merchandise alsoe, that he became a greate and wealthy man. His sonne, John Spicer, was a justice of the peace in the first commissions after the new ordinance of Wales, and was brother by the mother to Alice William, the wife of Meredith ap Jevan ap Robert. Their mother is said to be of the Bangors, whom I have knowne often to have claymed kindred of me by that woman. At Crieg he began the worlde with his wife, and begate there by her two daughters, Jonett, the first, married to Edmund Griffith, and afterwards to Sir John Puleston; and another called Catherine, married to Rowland Gruffith of Plas Newydd^p. After this finding he was

^p Plas Newydd signifies *the new Mansion or Gentleman's house*; the name is therefore very common in Wales, and it is difficult to determine what Plas Newydd the author alludes to. It should seem that

likely to have more children, and that the place would prove narrow and straight for him, he was minded to have returned to his inheritance in Evioneth, where there was nothing but killing and fighting, whereupon he did purchase a lease of the castle and frithes¹ of Dolwyddelan, of the executors of Sir Ralph Berkinnet. I find in the records of the Exchequer of Carnarvon, the transcript of an act of resumption enrowled, made in the third yeare of King Henry the Seventh, by which act all King Richard's gifts are resumed, excepting one lease of the frith of Dolwyddelan, granted to Sir

our modern expression of a *Gentleman's Place* is taken from this Welsh term.

¹ *Frith* is a very common term in Wales, and signifies generally a small field taken out of a common. There is a market town in Derbyshire called *Chapel in the Frith*, which is situated in a valley amongst such inclosures.

Ralph Berkinnet of the countie of Chester, Knight, Chamberlaine of North Wales. Haveing purchased this lease, he removed his dwelling to the castle of Dolwyddelan, which at that time was in part thereof habitable, where one Howel ap Jevan ap Rys Gethin, in the beginning of Edward the Fourth his raigne, captaine of the countrey and an outlaw, had dwelt. Against this man David ap Jenkin rose, and contended with him for the sovraignety of the countrey; and being superiour to him, in the end he drew a draught for him, and took him in his bed at Penanmen with his concubine, performing by craft, what he could not by force, and brought him to Conway castle. Thus, after many bickerings betweene Howell and David ap Jenkin, David ap Jenkin being too weake, was faine to flie the countrey, and to goe to Ireland, where he

was

was a yeare or thereabouts. In the end he returned in the summer time, haveing himselfe and all his followers clad in greene^a, who, being come into the countrey, he disperfed here and there among his friends, lurking by day, and walkeing in the night for feare of his adversaries; and fuch of the countrey as happened to have a fight of him and his followers, faid they were the fairies, and foe ran away. All the whole countrey then was but a forrest, rough and spacious, as it is still, but then waste of inhabitants, and all overgrowne with woods; for Owen Glyndwr's warres beginning in anno 1400, continued fifteen yeares, which brought fuch a defolation, that greene graffe grew on the market place in Llanrwst, called Bryn y botten, and the deere fled into the church-yard, as

^a The tradition is well known, that Robin Hood, and the outlawes his followers, were clad in the same livery. As they generally lived in forests, perhaps it might be conceived that they were less distinguishable when dressed in this colour.

it is reported. This desolation arose from Owen Glyndwr's policie, to bring all things to waste, that the English should find no strength, nor resting place. The countrey being brought to such a desolation, could not be replanted in haste; and the warres of York and Lancaster happening some fifteen yeares after, this countrey being the chiefeest fastness of North Wales, was kept by David ap Jenkin, a captaine of the Lancastrian faction, fifteen yeares in Edward the Fourth his time, who sent diverse captaines to besiege him, who wasted the countrey while he kept his rocke of Carreg y Walch; and, lastly, by the Earle Herbert, who brought it to utter desolation. Now you are to understand, that in those dayes, the countrey of Nantconway was not onely wooded, but alsoe all Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Denbigh shires seemed to be but one Forrest haveing few inhabitants, though
of

of all others Nantconway had the fewest, being the worst then, and the seat of the warres, to whom the countrey about paid contribution. From the towne of Conway to Bala, and from Nantconway to Denbigh^r, (when warres did happen to cease in Hirwethog, the countrey adjoining to Nantconway), there was continually fostered a wasp's nest, which troubled the whole countrey, I mean a lordship belonging to St. Johns of Jerusalem, called Spytty Jevan, a large thing, which had privilege of sanctuary. This peculiar jurisdiction, not governed by the King's lawes, became a receptacle of thieves and murtherers, who safely being warranted there by law, made the place thoroughly peopled. Noe spot within

^r All this tract of country is mountainous, though not very rocky; it may therefore have been formerly covered with wood, according to this tradition, though there is at present little or none to be seen.

twenty miles was safe from their incursions and robberies, and what they got within their limits was their own. They had to their backstay friends and receptors in all the county of Merioneth and Powisland^s. These helping the former desolations of Nantconway, and preying upon that country, as their next neighbours, kept most part of that country all waste and without inhabitants. In this estate stood the hundred of Nantconway, when Meredith removed his dwelling thither, being (as I guess) about the four and twentieth yeare of his age, and in the beginning of King Henry the Seventh his time. Being questioned by his friends, why he meant to leave

^s Powisland formerly included a large district of country, chiefly Montgomeryshire. The *Reguli* of this part of North Wales are said to have been buried at Myford in that county, which is situated on the river Vurnwy.

his

his ancient house and habitation, and to dwell in Nantconway †, swarming with thieves and bondmen, whereof there are many in the King's lordship and townes in that hundred; he answered, " that " he should find elbowe roome in that " vast countrey among the bondmen, " and that he had rather fight with " outlawes and thieves, than with his " owne blood and kindred; for if I live " in mine house in Evioneth ", I must " either kill mine owne kinsmen or be " killed by them." Wherein he said very truly, as the people were such in those dayes there; for John Owen ap John ap Meredith, in his father's time, killed Howell ap Madoc Vaughan of

† Nantconway signifies the valley situated on the Conway.

‡ Evioneth is a hundred in the S. Western part of Carnarvonshire: it is supposed to have obtained this name from its being watered by a great number of small rivers.

Berkin,

Berkin, for noe other quarrell, but for the mastery of the countrey, and for the first good-morrow; in which tragedie Meredith had likely beene an actor, if he had lived there, for the reasons afore-said. He and his cosen, the heire of Bron y foel, were both out of the countrey, Morys ap John ap Meredith and Owen ap John ap Meredith were also growne old men, foe as there was none in the countrey, that durst strive with John Owen ap John ap Meredith, but Howell ap Madoc Vaughan of Berkin*, which cost him his life.

Howell ap Madog Vaughan his grandmother, was Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith his sister, foe he he was cosen german's sonne to Meredith. John Owen that killed him was cosen german to my

* Berkin (or Aberkin) is situated in the parish of Llanistindwy.

grandmother, being the daughter of Morris ap John ap Meredith. In respect of the feude my grandfather could not abide any descended of Owen ap John ap Meredith, neither could she abide any of his kindred of Berkin. I write it but to shew the manifold divisions in those days among soe private friends.

Howell ap Madog Vaughan haveing most valiantly fought out with his people, received his deadly wound in the head. Being downe, his mother being present, clapped her hand on his head, meaning to ward the stroke, and had halfe her hand and three of her fingers cut off at the blowe.

David Llwyd Gruffith Vychan, my uncle, told me, that his father dwelling at Cumstrallyn in Evioneth, hearing of the affray, but not of his cosen's death,
for

(for Howell ap Madog Vychan outlived the fray certaine dayes), sent him, being a child, to see how his cosen did; and he coming to Berkin found him layd in his bed, and his wounded men in great number lying in a *cocherie* ^y, above the degree near the high table, all in breadth of his hall, all gored and wallowing in their owne blood. He likewise saw the gentleman's milch kine brought to the hall doore, and their

^y This term seems to be derived from an old French word *coucherie*; it may therefore signify a long boarded bed, placed with a proper inclination from the side of the room, which was the common dormitory of the servants. A shelf of boards thus disposed might answer the purpose of what in England was formerly called a *pallet*, and slanting shelves of this sort are sometimes used in barracks for the soldiers to sleep upon. As for what is mentioned of its being *above the degree near the high table*, it is well known that the principal table in an ancient hall is always raised a step or two, as it continues to be in most colleges.

milk

milk carried hot from the kine, to the wounded men, by them to be druncke for the restoring of their blood.

Howell Vaughan, upon his death-bed, did say, "that this quarrell should never be ended while his mother lived; and looked upon her hand." Which was true indeed; for she persecuted eagerly all her time, and John Owen was kept in prison seven years in Carnarvon castle, for soe long she survived her sonne, and his life was saved with much ado. After her death the feude was *compounded for*^z.

John Owen and his followers were exceedingly fore hurt in that bickering; soe that returning to his father's house from the fray, and his aged father sit-

^z Such compositions were common in Wales before the Statutes of Henry the Eighth.

ting or walking before the doore of his house, and seeing his sonne and his company all hacked, wounded, and besmeared with their owne blood, he said unto them, *Drwg yw'r drefn yma, a wnacthoch ebwi eich gweithsb*; which is as much as to say, "You are in an ill-favoured pickle. Have you done nothing worthy yourselves?" "*I^a*," said the sonne, "I feare me we have done too much." "If that be foe," said Owen ap John ap Meredith, "I was this morning the best man in my country," meaning Evioneth, "but now I know not who is."

You are to understand, that in Evioneth of old there were two sects or kindred, the one lineally descended of Owen Gwynedd, Prince of Wales, con-

^a *I* is probably used here for *ay*, as it is throughout the folio editions of Shakespeare.

sisting then and now of four houses, viz. Kefelgyfarch, y Llys ynghefn y fann, now called Ystimkegid, Clenenny, and Bryn kir, Glasfrin or Cwmstrallyn; the other sect descended of Collwyn, whereof are five houses or more, viz. Whelog, Bron y foel, Berkin, Gwnfryn, Talhenbont, and the house of Hugh Gwyn ap John Wynne ap Williams called Pennardd, all descended of their common ancestor, Jevan ap Einion ap Gruffith. His brother was Howell ap Einion ap Gruffith, that worthy gentleman called Sir Howell y fwyall^c, who behaved himselfe so worthyly at the field of Poitiers^d, (where John the French King was taken by the Blacke Prince), that he received of the Prince in guift the constableness of Criketh

^c i. e. The axe.

^d This circumstance hath been before mentioned by the author. See p. 40.

castle,

castle, and other great things in North Wales, alsoe the rent of Dee milles in Chester; and, what was more, a messe of meat to be served before his battle-axe or partisan forever, in perpetual memory of his good service. This messe of meat was afterwards carried downe to be given to the poore, and had eight yeomen attendants found at the King's charge, which were afterwards called yeomen of the crowne; who had 8 d. a-day, and lasted till the beginning of Queene Elizabeth's time. Sergeant Roberts of Havod y bwch, neare Wrexham, was, at his beginning, yeoman of the crowne. He married Sir William Gerard's halfe sister by the mother, as did Robert Turbridge of Caervallen, neare Ruthyn, Esq; another: to whom he told, "that being yeoman of the crowne, "he had heard it by tradition in the "King's house, that the beginning of
 " their

“ their order was upon the occasion as
 “ is afore remembred.” This did Robert Turbridge relate unto me, upon the creditte of the other man. The countrey people, grounding upon the songes, which say, “ that he bridled the
 “ French King,” will have it, that he took the French King prisoner : a matter unlikely, as the one served on foot, and the King on horseback ^b. But the foot captaine is a brazen wall of the army, and may be said truely to winne the field.

^b Notwithstanding the author's doubts with regard to this tradition, it seems scarcely to admit of a cavil, as such an extraordinary and expensive establishment could not have been granted by the crown, but for most meritorious services. As for the impossibility relied upon, that a soldier on foot could not take the French King on horseback, this circumstance is most fully accounted for by a MS, given to the Lord Treasurer Oxford by Mr. Hugh Thomas, and now deposited in the British Museum.

L

After

After Meredith had lived certaine
yeares at Dolwyddelan castle, he builded

——— “ Sir Howell ap Fywall, ap Griffith, ap
“ Howell, ap Meredith, ap Einion, ap Gwgan, ap
“ Meredith Goch, ap Cothwyn, ap Tangno,
“ called Sir *Howell y Fwyall*, or Sir *Howell Pole*
“ *Axe*, from his constant fighting with that war-
“ like instrument. — It is said he dismounted the
“ French King, *cutting off his horse's head* at one
“ blow with his battle axe, and took the French
“ King prisoner; as a trophy of which victory it
“ is said that he bore the arms of France, with a
“ battle axe in bend sinister, argent.” Harl. MSS.
N^o 2291, p. 78. See also N^o 2298, p. 348. —
the reference in the printed catalogue to p. 21.
of this number being inaccurate.

The author seems also to have forgotten some
Welsh verses which are inserted in the margin of
the MS, commemorating the grant of the mess of
meat to be served at Sir Howell's table, whilst the
battle axe followed.

Segir fy feiger wyall doeth honn garr bron y
brenin

Gwedyr maes gwaed ar y min; i dwysaig ai
dewiswr

Ai diod oedd waed a dwr.

the

the house in Penanmen, being the principal best ground in Dolwyddelan, and alsoe within certaine yeares after, he removed the church of Dolwyddelan from a place called Brin y bedd^e, to the place where now it is, being parte of the possessions of the priory of Bethkelert. He also there new-built the same as it is now, one crosse chapell excepted,

Kowydd * i Jevan ap Meredith O Cefelgyfarch
Howell ap Reignalt ai cant.

“ Place on the table my *sewer* (bearing the axe
“ which came from the presence of the king, with
“ blood on its edge) the two dishes which I have
“ chosen. The drink must be blood and water.

“ The poem in praise of Jevan ap Meredith of
“ Cefelgyfarch, by Howell ap Reinalt the Bard.”

* This signifies the hill of the grave, or *the church yard on the hill*.

* This kowydd (or distich) was inserted in the margin by a different hand from that of the copier: it is said to be very incorrect, and consequently not perfectly intelligible. The above translation is supposed to be nearly the sense of it.

which my uncle Robert Wynne built. It should seeme, by the glasse window there, that it was built in anno 1512; but whether it was in that yeare glazed, (which might be done long after the building of the church), I am uncertaine. The church, which is very strongly built, the castle, and his house of Penanmen stand three square, like a trivett, either a mile distant from each other. Questioning with my uncle, what should move him to demolish the old church, which stood in a thickett, and build it in a plaine, stronger and greater than it was before: his answer was, he had reason for the same, because the countrey was wild, and he might be oppressed by his enemies on the suddaine, in that woodie countrey; it therefore stood him in a policie to have diverse places of retreat. Certaine it was, that he durst not goe to church on a Sunday
from

from his house of Penanmen, but he must leave the same guarded with men, and have the doores sure barred and bolted, and a watchman to stand at the Garreg big, during divine service; being a rock whence he might see both the church and the house, and raise the crie, if the house was assaulted. He durst not, although he were guarded with twenty tall archers, make knowne when he went to church or elsewhere, or goe or come the same way through the woodes and narrowe places, lest he should be layed for: this was in the beginning of his time. To strengthen himselfe in the countrey, he provided out of all parts adjacent, the tallest and most able men he could heare of. Of these he placed colonies in the countrey, filling every empty tenement with a tenant or two, whereof most was on the Kinge's lands. Many of the posteritie

of these tenants remaine untill ~~this~~ day.
 One William ap Robert of Iscorum, being
 one of his followers, he placed in a tene-
 ment of the towneshippe of Gwedir,
 called Pencraig Inko, now worth 30 li.
 per annum, who paid for the same onely
 a reliefe to the King or lord, which was
 10 s. 4 d.

Such were the lawes in those days,
 and are still, that if the King's tenant
 holding in freehold, or freeholder hold-
 ing under any other Lord, did cease for
 two years to doe his service to the King
 or Lord, the said may re-enter. The
 writte is called *Cessavit per biennium*;
 the exactions were, in those dayes, soe
 manifold, that not onely the bondmen
 ranne away and forsooke the King's
 land, but alsoe freeholders their owne
 land.

Here

Here to lay downe in particular the Welsh customes would make the volume too great.

Owen ap Hugh ap Jevan ap William, great grandchild to the said William, enjoyeth the land to this day ; though in my grandfather's time it was in fute, by the contrivance of John ap Madog ap Howell, but it is now recovered by the meanes of my grandfather. Einion ap Gruffith ap Jockos, a freeholder of Ffestiniog and Llanvrothen, he placed in the King's frith at Bryntirch, of whom are descended many in Nantconway, Ffestiniog, and Llanvrothen. Howell ap Jevan ap Pellyn, a Denbighshire man, and a tall archer, of whom are descended the race of the Pellyns, he placed in the tenement of Garth. He alsoe placed Gruffith ap Tudor, a Den-

bighshire man, in Rhiw Goch^f; as likewise Jevan David ap Ednyfed, an Abergeley man, (who felled, in one day, eighteen oakes, towards the building of a parte of Penanmen house), in Bwlch y kymid. Lastly, he placed Robert ap Meredith in Berthios, whose sonne John ap Robert was dayry-man there, untill the beginning of my time.

In Ddanhadog he found Rys ap Robert, a tall stout man, who being originally (as they say) a Vaynoll Bangor^g man borne, and a freeholder, killed a man there, forsook his land, and fled

^f Rhiw Goch is in the parish of Trawddvyned in Merionethshire. It is a large mansion house, with a considerable demesne, belonging to Sir Watkyn Williams, Bart.

^g So called from being near Bangor, to distinguish it from other places bearing that name.

thither

hither. Rytharch and Richard ap Rys ap Robert were my father's fosters ; and from the said Richard ap Rys ap Robert is lineally descended Humphrey Jones of Craveleyn, Gentleman. Diverse other tall and able men dwelt in the countrey, which drew to him, as to their defender and captaine of the countrey, soe as within the space of certaine yeares, he was able to make seven score tall bowmen of his followers, arrayed, as I have credibly heard, in this manner. Every one of them had a jacket or armolett coate, a good steele cappe, a short sword and a dagger, together with his bow and arrowes ; most of them alsoe had horses, and chafing slaves, which were to answere the crie upon all events.

Whereby he grew soe strong that he began to put back and to curbe the
sanctuary

sanctuary of thieves and robbers^b, which at times were wont to be above a hundred, well horfed and well appointed.

It is to be noted likewise, that certaine gentlemen and freeholders dwelt in the countrey, but not many, who were to answere the crie, and to come also upon the like distresse.

^b This was before described to be Yspytty Evan, which belonged to the Knights Hospitalers, and is not far from Dolwyddelan, where this chieftain resided. These Knights had St. John for their patron, and hence it is possibly called Yspytty Evan; it is now a small village situated on the Conway. Dr. Davis renders Yspytty *hospitium*.

The Issue of MEREDITH ap JEVAN ap
ROBERT of Kefelgyfarch and Gwedir,
Com. Carn.

By his first wife Alice, sixth daughter
of William Griffith ap Robin of
Cochwillan, he had,

I. William Wynne, who died without
issue.

II. John Wynne ap Meredith of Gwe-
dir.

III. Rees Wynne.

IV. Rytherch.

V. Margaret, wife first of Rees ap Da-
vid ap Guillim of Anglesey, then of Je-
van ap John ap Meredith of Bryn-
kir, and after him of Robert ap Meredith of
Bronheulog.

VI. Jonet

VI. Jonet, wife first of Edmund Gruffith, son of Sir William Gruffith the elder Knight, after him of Sir John Puleston, Knight.

VII. Catherine Lloyd, wife of Rowland Gruffith of Plasenwidd.

VIII. Catherine Gwnniow, wife of Lewis ap Jevan ap David of Festiniog.

IX. Lowry, wife of Rytherch ap David ap Meredith of Bala.

X. Margaret, wife of Thomas Griffith Jenkin.

By his second wife Gvenhover, daughter of Gruffith ap Howell y Farf, relict of Robert Griffith of Porthaml,

XI. Elizabeth, wife of John ap Robert ap Lln of Penllech.

^a This contraction is probably for Llewelin.

XII. Ellen.

XII. Elen.

By his third wife Margaret, daughter of Morris ap John ap Meredith, he had,

XIII. Humphrey Meredith, of Kefelgyfarch.

XIV. Cadwalader of Wenallt, father of Thomas, father of Cadwalader, father of John Vaughan, father of Cadwalader, M. A.^k

XV. Elen, wife of Edward Stanley Constable of Harddlech.

^k Degrees were at this time considered as the highest dignities, and it may not be improper to observe, that a clergyman who hath not been educated at the universities, is still distinguished in some parts of North Wales, by the appellation of *Sir John*, *Sir William*, &c. Hence the Sir Hugh Evans of Shakespeare is not a Welsh knight, who hath taken orders; but only a Welsh clergyman, without any regular degree from either of the universities.

XVI.

XVI. Jane, wife of Cadwalader ap Robert ap Rees of Rulas.

XVII. Agnes, wife of Robert Salisbury.

XVIII. Alice, wife of Thomas ap Rees ap Benet of Bodelwithur.

XIX. Gwen, wife of Owen ap Reinalt, of Glynllwygy.

XX. Margaret, wife of John Griffith of Kichlew.

XXI. Elliw, wife of John Nookes of Conway.

By Jonet, daughter of Jenkin Gruffith Vaughan, he had,

XXII. Mr. Robert, a Priest.

XXIII.

XXIII. John Coetmor, father of William, father of John Williams¹, goldsmith in London ; who had issue Sir John Williams of the isle of Thanet, Bart. Sir Edmund Williams, Bart. &c. From him alsoe came Sir Morris Williams, Physician to the Queene.

XXIV. Catherine.

By a daughter of Jevan ap John ap Heilin of Penmachno he had,

XXV. Hugh.

XXVI. Jevan.

He died A. D. 1525.

¹ This John Williams, goldsmith, was an antiquary of considerable eminence, and furnished Drayton with many of the particulars relative to Wales, which he hath taken notice of in the Polyolbion. Bishop Nicholson therefore need not have been surpris'd, "that it should contain a much truer account of this kingdom, *and the dominion of Wales*, than could be well expected from the pen of a poet." Hist. Libr. p. 5.

John Wynne ap Meredith of Gwedir, | Elen Lloyd, daughter of Morris ap John
he died 1553. | ap Meredith of Ruedoc.

Morris Wynne | Griffith Wynne | Owen Wynne | Robert Wynne | Dr. John
of Gwedir. | of Berthddu. | of Caermelwr. | of Conway. | Wynne.

Sir John Wynne | Hugh and Ellis | John Wynne. | Thomas.

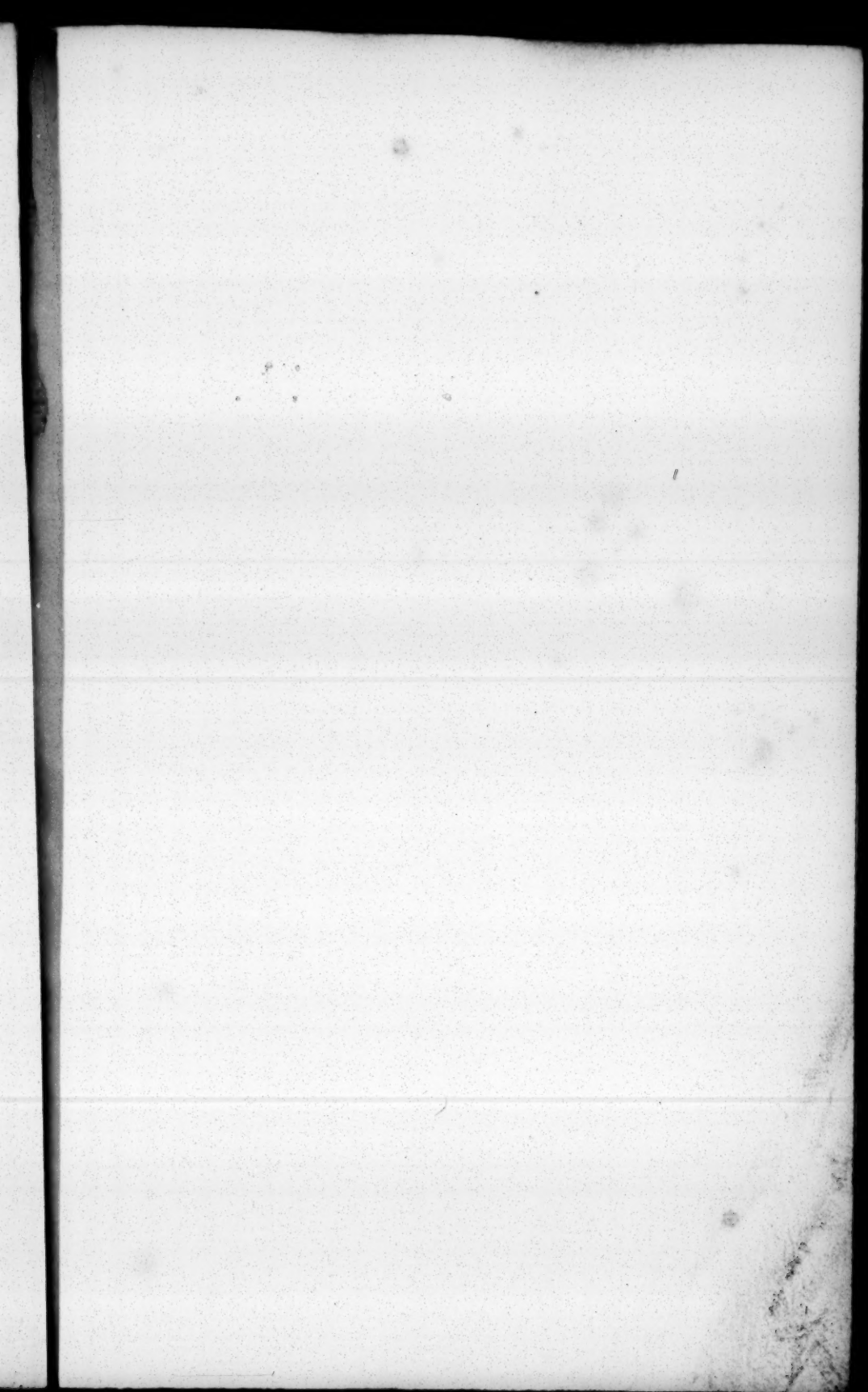
Kt. and Bart. * | Robert Wynne | Ellen, d. | Robert Wynne.

Col. Hugh Wynne | John Williams of Rhodigidio, son and heire.

Margaret, wife of William Gruffith of | Ellen, wife of William Williams of
Carnarvon, mother of John, father of | Cochwillem.
William Gruffith.

* The author.





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